

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
First woman in Guevara's
column of Cuban Rebel Army
— PAGE 8

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 60 NO. 7 FEBRUARY 19, 1996

Ultrarightist Buchanan wins caucuses in Louisiana

BY NAOMI CRAINE

Ultrarightist politician Patrick Buchanan scored a coup in the first vote of the race for the Republican presidential nomination. Buchanan won the February 6 Louisiana caucuses, gaining 13 delegates to the Republican Party convention, compared to eight for Sen. Phil Gramm. Most other major contenders for the Republican nomination, including front-runners Bob Dole and Steve Forbes, did not take part in the contest.

Before the vote, which was taken at 42 sites across the state, Gramm had predicted an easy win, suggesting he might even get all of the Louisiana delegates.

"This wasn't a victory for a man — this was a victory for a cause," Buchanan declared when the results came in. He said the polling was a triumph of "a new conservatism that puts the values of faith, family, and country first."

Like in the 1992 campaign, Buchanan, Continued on Page 4

N. Y. strikers end walkout, holding back concessions

BY TAMAR ROSENFELD

NEW YORK—After one month on the picket lines, 30,000 members of Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 32B-32J who are maintenance workers, janitors, elevator operators, and cleaners in some 1,300 commercial buildings throughout New York City returned to work on Monday, February 5.

Many of the strikers returned on the job confident that their walkout was worthwhile. Despite concessions in the contract union officials negotiated, several SEIU members said they succeeded in holding back the employers' effort to roll back starting wages for new hires by nearly 50 percent of pre-strike levels.

Rosalina Rodríguez, a union member since 1973 who is a cleaner on the World Trade Center observation deck, was excited about the results of the strike. "We won," she said in an interview. "All the scabs are gone. The union had to fight for the new people and the old people too."

Rodríguez spoke of the contract provisions for the current workforce. "We get a \$15-per-week raise in the first and second years, and \$16 per week the third year. They will pay more into our insurance and pension."

"It's not easy to go out on strike," Rodríguez said. "But we are strong. With the union we have respect. The owners have to have more consideration for us because the union is behind us." The cleaner was on the picket line daily, and participated in marches through downtown during the strike.

"We're all happy to be back," said William Bednarski, Jr., a porter on the concourse at World Trade Center. "We won increases in salaries and our pension." Bednarski was on the picket line six days a week. "We organized ourselves," Continued on Page 12

NATO troops step up show of force in Bosnia

First U.S. GI killed as imperialists escalate war drive

BY MAURICE WILLIAMS

Heavily armed NATO troops, backed by U.S. A-10 Thunderbolt warplanes, confronted a convoy of 30 Bosnian soldiers outside Mostar February 1 and seized their weaponry. It was the most serious incident since the imperialist military operation in Yugoslavia began. The Bosnian troops had driven into the 2.5-mile zone that separates the warring parties along Bosnia's 600-mile front line. The zone has been imposed by NATO forces since January 19.

"Sometimes a show of force is a good idea," Lt. Col. Mark Rayner, a NATO spokesman, told the *Washington Post*. The Mostar confrontation was the first use of NATO air power since the Dayton accord was signed December 14.

Another military confrontation ended when French Special Forces killed an alleged sniper in Ilidza, a suburb of the Bosnian capital Sarajevo, the same night. A NATO military spokesman claimed the man had threatened the French unit, but was fatally shot before he could fire.

The imperialist bully tactics reflected mounting tensions as the deadline approached for Belgrade-backed Serb forces to exit five suburbs around Sarajevo by February 3. "If we see somebody pointing a weapon at our forces, he will be attacked without warning, no warning shots, no 'Drop your weapon,'" declared U.S.



U.S. soldier patrols in Brcko, Bosnia, as barracks held by chauvinist Serbs burn.

Adm. Leighton Smith, the commander of NATO forces in Bosnia.

That day the first U.S. soldier died after an explosion at a military checkpoint near the town of Gradacac, 25 miles north of the headquarters of Washington's troops

in the northeastern Bosnian city of Tuzla. The military brass initially said the blast was caused by a land mine, but later the story could not be confirmed.

On February 4 imperialist negotiators in Continued on Page 4

Seventh Havana book fair opens in Cuba

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL AND RÓGER CALERO

HAVANA, Cuba — The Seventh International Book Fair opened here February 7. A major cultural event in Cuba, it is expected to attract tens of thousands of people and has drawn daily coverage in the Cuban media. Eighty thousand people attended the last fair, held in 1994.

Dozens of publishers from more than 25 countries are participating in the 1996 book fair, which is held every two years. Some of the largest representation is from Spain, Mexico, and Argentina. There are also exhibitions from publishers located in Italy, Iran, Japan, the United Kingdom, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea,

Vietnam, Germany, Russia, and the United States, among others.

Most noticeable is the expanded presence of Cuban exhibitors. Sixty publishing houses and institutions from this nation have booths here, with about 200 current Cuban titles on display — a significant increase from 1994. Organizers of the book fair have noted that this reflects the recent pickup in publishing in Cuba, one aspect of the slight economic upturn in this country.

At the opening ceremony of the event, José Donate Llosa, general director of the 1996 Havana Book Fair, pointed out that the number of books published here increased to 4 million last year, up from a low of 1 million in 1993. Several periodicals have resumed publication, such as the humor magazine *El Caimán Barbudo* (The Bearded Alligator).

Among the titles on display is the New Pines series, a collection of 100 books by previously unpublished Cuban authors. This effort was cosponsored by the Cuban Book Institute and a group of Argentine publishers who donated funds to make these books available. A similar initiative was featured at the 1994 book fair.

One of the most interesting new titles is *Pombo: Un hombre de la guerrilla del Che* (Pombo: a guerrilla with Che). The author, Cuban brigadier general Harry Villegas, fought with Ernesto Che Guevara in the Cuban revolutionary war of the late 1950s as well as in the guerrilla struggles in the Congo and Bolivia in the mid-1960s, where he was known by his nom de guerre, Pombo. The book, published by Editora Política in Havana, is based on Pombo's diary of the Bolivian campaign, which has never before been published. It gives his firsthand account of the months prior to and immediately following the death of Guevara at the hands of the CIA-directed Bolivian army, including many details previously unavailable.

Among the exhibits at the Havana Book Fair is a display of Pathfinder Press. The booth is staffed by a team of volunteers from Canada, Australia, Britain, and Iceland. The main highlight of the Pathfinder exhibit is the just-published *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*, by Cuban revolutionary leader Ernesto Che Guevara. Long out of print, the new edition of *Episodes* has attracted considerable interest among those attending the book fair.

Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Episodes*, has been interviewed for several radio programs as well as the daily newspaper *Granma*.

Help 'Militant' bring you best coverage from Cuba

An international team of *Militant* reporters — including Mary-Alice Waters, editor of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War*; *Perspectiva Mundial* editor Martín Koppel; *Perspectiva Mundial* staff writer Róger Calero; Seth Galinsky, a rail worker in Miami; and Brian Taylor, an airline worker in Washington, D.C. — is in Cuba to cover the 1996 Havana Book Fair, one of the major cultural events in Latin America. They will also provide firsthand reports on meetings in factories, farms, and other workplaces to prepare for the April congress of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC).

To make this unique reporting trip possible, your generous contribution is needed now toward the \$10,000 necessary for travel and other expenses. So far readers have contributed just over \$4,000. Please send your check or money order to the *Militant*, 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014, payable to the *Militant* and earmarked for the Cuba reporting trip.



Militant/Laura Garza
Voluntary workers packing bananas in Hoguín

Oil wells blocked in Mexico

Some 1,000 people occupied enclosures surrounding 18 oil wells and blockaded 21 others of the Petróleos Mexicanos (Pemex) company in the state of Tabasco during the last week of January. The protesters are demanding compensation for pollution caused by the large state-owned oil monopoly. "Pemex has polluted the soils and the waters of our rivers and lakes," said Andrés Manuel López Obrador, the Tabasco head of the Party of the Democratic Revolution, and a leader of the protests.

Several thousand women marched in the neighboring state of Veracruz January 30 to protest the planned sales of several petrochemical plants to private investors. Thousands of workers are opposed to the sales. The protests have provoked heated discussions all across Mexico's Gulf Coast.



Students attacked by police January 31 in Nicaragua after seizing Foreign Ministry building

Nicaraguan students storm office

About 300 students in Nicaragua seized the Foreign Ministry in Managua January 30. The next day hundreds of cops assaulted the occupiers with tear gas and arrested 107 of them. This was part of a series of occupations of government buildings to press demands for increased financing for higher education. A mass of students seized a bus carrying 15 cops January 31. On February 1, students marched on a police station in Managua and held a sit-in in front of the jail where other students, arrested in earlier demonstrations, are being held.

"We want the government to resolve the university budget before the Pope gets here," said a student who participated in the January 30 takeover of the Foreign Ministry, which is serving as the headquarters for preparations for the visit of Pope John Paul II in early February.

Cops evict peasants in Honduras

Cops and soldiers evicted more than 400 peasants and their families in Tacamiche, Honduras, February 1 from a plantation owned by the U.S.-based banana giant Chiquita Brands. The eviction was the third in Tacamiche in the last seven months.

The rural workers had lived on the farm

since October 1994, three months after the company closed several farms and laid off 2,000 people. Some 7,000 banana workers went on strike for four days during that time to reverse the shutdowns. In August 1995, peasants there battled soldiers with rocks, sticks, and machetes. Chiquita threatened to call on the U.S. government to protect its property.

Students protest in Venezuela

Students in Caracas organized several protests January 25 against a 70 percent fare hike in public transportation. Caracas radio reported unrest in Barquisimeto, Mérida, Cumaná, Maracaibo, Los Teques, and in parts of the Venezuelan capital, which lasted into the night.

"If they increase the fares, we could not afford it," said one high school student. The bus companies are demanding a fare increase of more than 100 percent.

Dominican doctors strike

The government of the Dominican Republic is withholding the wages of some 8,000 striking doctors, as the work stoppage's impact on health services grows. The strike, started in early November, was called by the Dominican Medical Association (AMD) demanding wage increases and housing provided by the state.

In mid-January, Dominican president Joaquín Balaguer ordered the militarization of the health services and warned that wages would be retained from civilian doctors who continued to strike. The militarization of the hospitals prompted the AMD to immediately order its members to stop offering emergency services that were still available in some hospitals.

Ankara, Athens nearly go to war

A military showdown between the governments of Greece and Turkey was stopped January 31, when both sides withdrew their forces from a small island in the Aegean Sea. The confrontation started in December when a Turkish ship crashed near the islet and declared to the Greek coast guard that it was Turkish territory. The disputed area was occupied by Greek commandos.

The two nations almost went to war in 1987 over mineral rights in the Aegean. A war in 1974 between the two countries over the Mediterranean island of Cyprus resulted in a partition, where a third of Cyprus has since been occupied by Turkey.

Rebellion simmers in Tajikistan

Rebel forces captured two towns in Tajikistan in late January, demanding the ouster of corrupt government officials. One of the leaders, Col. Makhmud Khudoberdyev, led a group that seized control of the road leading to the capital February 1. Tajik government soldiers also clashed with guerrilla fighters near the Afghan border the same day.

The Moscow-backed government of Tajikistan president Emomali Rakhmonov said February 1 that the republic is on the verge of an upheaval similar to the 1992 civil war there. The Russian government, which sent 25,000 troops to prop up the regime, claimed its troops will not get involved in the conflict. Moscow, said however, that its troops will guard the Afghan border and military facilities.

Japanese troops sent to Syria

Sixteen Japanese soldiers landed in the Damascus airport February 1 to join a 1,000-strong United Nations military force in the Golan Heights, Syria. The Japanese troops will be joined by another group of 29 Japanese soldiers later in February. The Japanese government has sent troops overseas four times since passing a law in 1992 permitting participation in imperialist military operations under the flag of United Nations "peacekeeping."

Tokyo approved a two-year plan in December for its troops to go to the Golan. Tel Aviv and the Syrian government have been in negotiations over control of the Golan which the Israeli military seized in 1967.

Nigerian opposition seeks aid

The National Democratic Coalition (NADECO) and its international associate, the National Liberation Council of Nigeria (NALICON), are soliciting aid from other African countries in their quest to overthrow the military regime in Nigeria. South African president Nelson Mandela made a donation of \$570,000 in a meeting in Johannesburg with a delegation of both groups led by Wole Soyinka. Mandela promised more aid to the groups and the African National Congress donated one of its buildings in Johannesburg to NADECO and NALICON.

The government of Burkina Faso offered one of its military camps to the NADECO delegation and accused the Nigerian dictatorship of using oil to blackmail other African countries for support.

Meanwhile in Nigeria, Gani Fawehinmi, a leader of the National Conscience opposition group, was arrested January 30 in the capital, Lagos. Fawehinmi was scheduled that day to deliver his program on removing the military from power to a meeting at the University of Lagos.

Judge voids law against gays

Judge Myron Thompson of the Federal District Court in Montgomery, Alabama, ruled January 29 that a law barring gay and lesbian groups from receiving public funds was unconstitutional. The reactionary law was enacted in 1992 after officials at Auburn University granted recognition to the Gay and Lesbian Association.

The Gay Lesbian Bisexual Alliance at the University of South Alabama in Mobile filed a suit after being denied financing from the university administration. Alan Clampett, the group's president, said January 30 that the verdict was a victory for the exercise of First Amendment rights by any student in Alabama. The ruling came as Attorney General Jeff Sessions is attempting to cancel a conference of gay, lesbian, and bisexual students scheduled in February at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa.

— MAURICE WILLIAMS

THE MILITANT

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Editor: STEVE CLARK

Business Manager: NAOMI CRAINE

Editorial Staff: Naomi Craine, Hilda Cuzco, Laura Garza, Martin Koppel, Paul Mailhot, Argiris Malapanis, and Maurice Williams.

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Miners' strike shows deep crisis in Russia

BY LAURA GARZA

A two-day strike of almost half a million miners in Russia highlighted the deepening economic and political crisis there and the growing numbers of workers facing depression conditions. One million Ukrainian miners joined the strike, bringing the total number of miners out across the two nations to more than a million, to demand payment of hundreds of millions of dollars owed to them in back wages. At the same time the Russian government of Boris Yeltsin is being pushed to deepen its austerity measures of cutbacks, layoffs, and privatizations in order to qualify for more loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

In the week before the strike Yeltsin signed a decree to pay \$127 million owed in back wages to the miners. But the miners, who said \$200 million is owed, walked out on February 1 anyway, saying they had yet to see any of the money promised.

Other protests across Russia

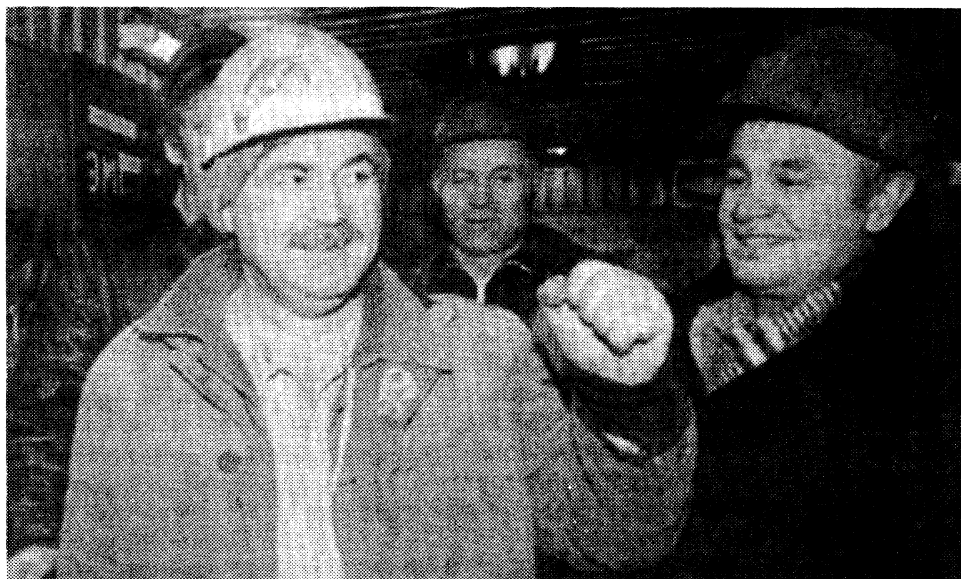
Workers and pensioners throughout the country are facing a similar plight. The miners' action occurred during a three-day nationwide strike of teachers, who were also demanding back pay. In the town of Vorkuta a crowd of 5,000 rallied in the main square, including miners, teachers, rail workers, and doctors, with signs say-

ing, "Where is our money?" Workers at the ZIL truck factory, who have not been paid since October, announced plans for a strike to begin the next week.

The striking miners were also demanding state funding for the coal industry to help guarantee they would continue to be paid. To end the stoppage the government approved a plan including \$2.2 billion in state funds to the coal industry, and the miners agreed to return to work. Ivan Mokhnachuk, deputy head of the Union of Coal Industry workers, said the strike would resume on March 1 if the government doesn't keep its promises.

Those pushing to deepen the austerity measures, which have included closing 36 mines in recent years, were unhappy with the government's response. "After the miners get this money, everybody else will say, 'Why don't we go on strike to get what we want?'" complained Sergei Markov, an analyst for the Carnegie Foundation in Moscow.

In Ukraine, where the strikes continued, miners are owed some \$367 million. Ukrainian prime minister Yevgeny Marchuk said people should have swallowed the "bitter medicine" of the cuts in funding to the coal industry long ago. "These strikes are serious," moaned the head of the department for economic reforms of the Economics Ministry, Vyacheslav Batvin. "They're putting the brakes



Coal miners in Alexin, Russia, joined a nationwide strike demanding back wages.

on reforms," he said.

Coal is a major source of energy and heat in Ukraine and Russia. Ukrainian miners make between \$50 and \$75 monthly. In Russia miners can earn more than \$200 a month, a higher wage than many workers.

Meanwhile, the would-be capitalist politicians in Moscow are feeling more heat from the World Bank and IMF representatives to push ahead with measures that are causing widespread social devastation. The World Bank has calculated that the number of pits that it considers viable would be mean closing one-third of operating mines and more than half of Russia's 900,000 miners would lose jobs.

The IMF is currently in negotiations with the Russian government over the

terms of a pending \$9 billion loan. Cutting back on social spending in the government's budget is a condition of continuing to receive money.

To appease growing social unrest Yeltsin has promised to raise the minimum wage, supplementary pensions, and stipends to students. Such measures are not in the IMF's plans. A January 31 *New York Times* article noted the "worries" of the imperialist lending institutions that "Mr. Yeltsin's budget-busting promises — if he keeps them — could undermine the country's market reforms." The article also noted, "IMF negotiators are no longer just overseeing Russia's inflation-fighting efforts. They are also discussing major institutional reforms over the next three years."

Colombia president facing fire over drug scandal

BY HILDA CUZCO

Besieged by the threat of a possible impeachment, Colombian president Ernesto Samper has so far refused to resign in face of charges that he knowingly accepted millions of dollars in drug money for his 1994 election campaign. There is growing pressure against Samper, both inside Colombia and from Washington.

In a special session of Congress that he called recently to weigh the accusations of his implication in the drug money, Samper received a standing ovation. The president's Liberal Party holds a majority in Congress. Samper has also taken to posturing as a friend of the workers who is under attack for his "social commitment."

In a nationally televised 10-minute speech January 24, Samper stated, "I will not resign...because quitting under pre-

sent circumstances would be an act of cowardice." He added, "I will not leave the country adrift. My conscience is tranquil." In his appeal for his innocence, the president proposed a referendum to gauge public support for his government. He had also called his accuser a "liar" and said he would leave the presidency only "with my head held high, or dead."

The political turmoil exploded when Fernando Botero, who was Samper's campaign manager and later his defense minister, said in a televised interview January 21 that president Samper had been "very seriously compromised" in accepting drug money from the top heads of the Cali cocaine organization.

Botero, the son of Colombia's most famous artist — also named Fernando — resigned in August after being formally ac-

cused of accepting drug money for his campaign. This was followed by the arrest of a number of well-known figures implicated in the scandal. As the scandal spiraled, public debate broke out in Congress and in the media over whether Samper should be forced to resign.

The president has been under the allegation that his campaign accepted millions of dollars from drug smugglers ever since he narrowly won the elections in May 1994. His opponent Andrés Pastrana released what was known as the "narcocassettes" right after the elections, where campaign members can be heard discussing money received from Gilberto and Miguel Rodríguez-Orejuela, reputed to be major drug traffickers.

Prosecutor General Alfonso Valdivieso ordered the arrest of Samper's campaign treasurer, Santiago Medina, in July. In public testimony on August 3, Medina described that the campaign had received \$5.9 million from the Cali drug organizations, and that Botero ordered opening secret bank accounts and double bookkeeping to hide the money.

Scandal continues to mushroom

The political scandal increased when Medina, who is now under house arrest, gave further information to the general prosecutor's office January 26 that president Samper met last year in Quito, Ecuador, with a contact from the Cali drug cartel. Medina turned in a letter signed by the president as evidence. A statement from Samper's government denied the allegation, calling it "slandorous and infamous." As a result of these developments, a growing number of his cabinet members, and diplomats have stepped down.

Several thousand university students marched to Plaza Bolívar, in front of the Presidential Palace, in January calling for Samper's resignation while the cabinet met. Some of the leading politicians from all parties have called for the president's resignation, showing their lack of confidence in the government. Others have been ambivalent, saying they fear political instability.

"The political situation is unsustainable," said an editorial in *El País*, a Cali newspaper. "Samper must resign," demanded *El Tiempo*, an influential national daily. A poll released by the news magazine *Semana*, found that Samper's popularity was no greater among poor Colombians than among the middle class and wealthy, according to Edgar Tellez, an editor at the magazine.

Shortly after Botero's confession, the

National Council of Guilds — representing mining, banking, agricultural and other business interests — urged Samper to consider stepping down temporarily.

Working-class Colombians have varying opinions about the allegations. Oliva Marín, 72, who sells lottery tickets for a living, told the *New York Times*, "In my opinion, with the little that I understand, he's guilty. If he resigns, it's bad. And if he doesn't, it's worse."

Others, such as 38-year-old parking lot attendant Julian Arterhortúa. "I don't believe the president's with the people," he said, but he feared the possibility of a coup more than the scandal.

Washington threatens 'decertification'

Relations between Washington and the Samper government have been strained. While the Clinton administration called Botero's accusations an "internal" matter, Republican Jesse Helms, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, demanded that Colombia be "decertified" as a collaborator in the so-called war on drugs. In December, Robert Gelbard, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and crime, had criticized an earlier investigation by the Colombian legislature that decided not to pursue the accusations against Samper. "It is evident that this was not a serious investigation," the U.S. official told CNN.

U.S. president Bill Clinton will make his annual assessment March 1 of whether Colombia meets Washington's standards in cooperating with the antidrug campaign. The loss of "certification" would leave Colombia without trade and credit preferences in millions of dollars.

Washington has used its "war on drugs" as a pretext to beef up the U.S. military presence in many Latin American countries. In Colombia and Peru, for instance, the U.S. military began in March 1995 using ground-based and aircraft radar to help shoot or force down civilian planes accused of carrying drugs.

Samper has shown less than total subservience to U.S. dictates. Washington complained that his government was backing off of using "faceless judges," whose identities are kept secret, from trying most drug cases. In October, a Colombian congressman allied with the government released wiretap recordings of conversations between U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency agents in Colombia and their headquarters in Washington. U.S. officials were outraged, saying the illegal wiretaps must have been authorized at a high level.

Visit to a garment shop in Haiti

BY LYN DUFF

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — "Jimmy Carter *Fo Demokrat*" (Jimmy Carter is a fake democrat) reads the graffiti on the walls of the SONAPI Industrial Park. In Haiti, Jimmy Carter is synonymous with the Macoutes — the paramilitary thugs who backed former dictatorships here and whose safety from prosecution he negotiated — as well as the continual occupation of their country by Canadian, Turkish, and U.S. troops.

For Haitian workers, Carter also represents the "Blans," white capitalists from the U.S. who come to Haiti because, as one boss boasted, the labor's "even cheaper than Mexico."

And what does this spell for Haitian workers? "I work 12 hours a day and for that I bring home 15 gourdes a day (U.S.\$1)," said Emanyél Iyve, a 24-year-old who packages and ships Mickey Mouse pajamas. "I am only paid that much if I reach my quota, which I rarely do," he added.

Iyve works for Quality Garments, a U.S.-owned factory that sews dresses for Kmart and pajamas for Walt Disney. To get to Quality Garments, one must walk between factories built so closely together you are forced to walk sideways, through raw sewage that threatens to spill over the tops of your shoes.

Covered with dust from the cement factory next door, Iyve and co-workers arrive at work every morning coughing. They have requested access to the front driveway so they won't have to make the

trek through the back entrance, but the driveway is reserved for the boss's BMW.

Inside, nearly 100 women are hunched over 1940s sewing machines guarded by a dozen white "managers." The women are given no lunch break and must keep sewing until they reach their quota, which was raised 800 percent in 1992 when Aristide raised the minimum wage.

"It is so dark I cannot see the thread, I feel it with my hands," one 14-year-old worker said. "If I lose hold of the thread and have to stop to feel it, the Blan comes at you with his hand raised to strike you," her 16-year-old friend, Mère added.

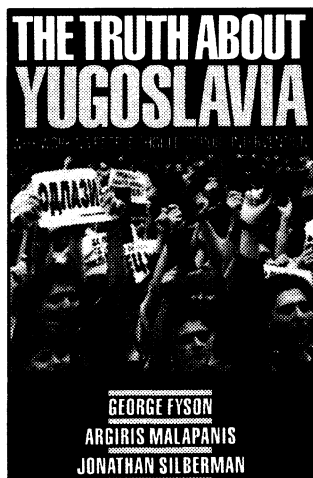
Mère said that she is required to sew zippers on 341 pairs of pajamas a day and for this she gets 18 gourdes (about U.S.\$1.07). If she sews less than 150 zippers, she is not paid. A worker like Mère can rent a cardboard and tin shack in Cité Soléy for about \$75 a year.

"We need a union of the Haitians who work here in SONAPI that will give us a strong voice," Mère replied when asked what could be done to solve their problems. "We need to work for the good of Haiti, not for the Americans to get fat. That is the goal for now, but none of these problems will go away as long as capitalism is allowed to control us."

"You need to go back and tell workers in America what it is like here, how dehumanizing these conditions are." Her friend added, "You need to fight to stop this cancer of capitalism in your own country. That is the *only* real solution to the problems of Haitians."

Books for Working-Class Campaign Against NATO's War Drive

Pathfinder publishes a number of books and pamphlets that are valuable weapons for working people opposed to the imperialists' march toward war in Yugoslavia. Below is a selection of titles documenting earlier opposition to imperialist war, battles to defend unions and democratic rights at home, and the struggle for socialism.



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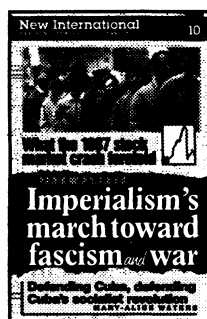
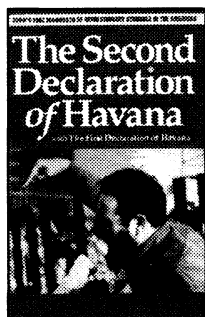
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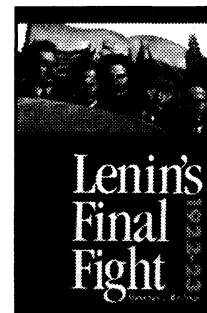
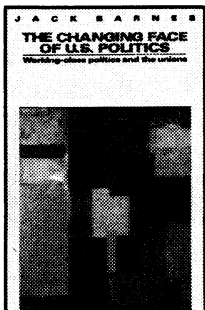
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Buchanan gains in Louisiana

Continued from front page

a longtime commentator and speechwriter for the Nixon and Reagan administrations, has been putting forward a fascist program through the platform of the Republican primaries. Even more than last time around, Buchanan, a millionaire, has sought to appeal to workers, farmers, and "the little man." He speaks of "the steadily declining real wages of working men and women in this country. The ones who produce things and manufacture things and work on assembly lines and work in small plants...."

Buchanan's central theme is the chauvinist slogan "America First." In the name of "protecting American jobs" he rails against the North American Free Trade Agreement. He calls for special tariffs on Japanese and Chinese imports.

He takes a particularly vicious stance toward immigrants, calling for building a 70-mile fence and deploying troops along the Mexican border, denying citizenship to children of undocumented immigrants, making English the official language, and imposing a moratorium on most legal immigration.

Like other fascist-minded demagogues historically, Buchanan uses antigovernment and even anticapitalist rhetoric. In a speech at the Heritage Foundation at the end of January, for instance, he charged a "judicial dictatorship" with being in "active opposition to the wishes of the majority." He accused the courts of protecting "criminals, atheists, homosexuals, flag burners, illegal aliens — including terrorists — convicts, and pornographers."

Continuing his 1992 theme of waging a "cultural war," Buchanan stresses his opposition to abortion, affirmative action, and busing for school desegregation, while supporting prayer in the public schools. Answering a question on prayer in schools he said, "Look, our Founding Fathers, if you had told them that they could not pray in their schools and the order came from London, you would have heard three little words: Lock and load."

Buchanan is not primarily out to win votes, nor was he four years ago. He has set out to build a cadre of those committed to his program and willing to act in the streets to carry it out. He dubs his supporters the "Buchanan Brigades."

In his speech to the Republican Party convention in 1992, Buchanan pointed to how after anti-police rioting, National Guard units in Los Angeles had taken back the city "block by block, house by house." That's how the American people are going to win the "cultural war," he said. Other Republican politicians complained that the speech, which set the tone for the convention and ran so far over schedule that it knocked Ronald Reagan out of the prime time slot, hurt the Republican Party. Buchanan had no



Militant/Linda Joyce
Patrick Buchanan with his wife Shelly in Concord, New Hampshire, Jan. 21, 1995.

apologies to offer.

Commenting on the tone of a recent speech Buchanan gave to the New Hampshire legislature, Republican state representative Julie Brown, said, "It's just mean — like a little Mussolini."

While he is not about to get the Republican nomination, Buchanan is serious in his campaign. The week before his Louisiana win, he came in first in a straw poll of Alaska Republicans and placed third in polls in New Hampshire, where the first primary election will be held. He is building a base regardless of how the vote totals continue to fall. And he poses the only real alternative that can be put forward within the capitalist system to the like-sounding Clinton and Dole — a fascist alternative.

NATO's show of force in Bosnia

Continued from front page

Yugoslavia hammered out a pact to step up the presence of U.S. units in Sarajevo, supposedly under the control of French forces. Ten U.S. GIs with M-16 assault rifles walked throughout the suburb of Ilidza passing out leaflets and putting up posters that explained the new arrangement.

The deal was negotiated supposedly to calm the fears of 70,000 Serbs who live in the suburbs of Sarajevo and are rumored to be ready to flee when the Bosnian government takes over the city March 19 as required by the Dayton agreement imposed by Washington in November. Belgrade-backed Serb police, scheduled to leave February 3, were permitted to remain for 45 days until the next major deadline, March 20.

The Dayton plan called for the warring parties to exchange about 1,500 square miles of land. The plan also outlined the return of oil-rich eastern Slavonia to Croatia, 30 days after 5,000 imperialist troops begin occupying the region sometime in March or April.

Chauvinist Serb forces with support from the regime in Belgrade captured the area in 1991 after Zagreb declared

independence. Croatian officials, threatening to retake the territory by force, warned of "the prospect of renewed conflict" if the land is not returned. Meanwhile, the so-called Muslim-Croat federation that is supposed to control 51 percent of Bosnia is on the verge of collapse. Some Croatian authorities in Mostar, the largest city in the federation, rule out reunification with the Bosnians. The city is divided right in the middle between troops from Zagreb and the Bosnian army. "In terms of what we have hoped to achieve — the creation of a joint Croat and Muslim police force — time is running out," stated a senior British police liaison.

Saudi Arabian covert operation

White House officials said they were outraged when the Saudi Arabian government revealed it funded a \$300-million covert operation to send arms to the Bosnian government with the knowledge and support of Washington. Clinton administration officials denied the allegations, calling them "preposterous and insulting." Washington was officially committed to enforcing an arms embargo against the warring factions.

In other developments, Bosnian government officials announced February 5 that their forces had arrested Gen. Djordje Djukic, an aide to chauvinist Serb general Ratko Mladic. Djukic, Col. Aleksa Krsmanovic, and six others were captured between January 20 and February 2 and are being held for investigations of alleged war crimes. "There exists evidence that both officers were involved in committing war crimes against civilians," said Bakir Alispahic, chief of the Bosnian security force.

Bosnian Serb officials, angered by the detention, suspended contact with the Bosnian government February 6. They warned that free passage for Bosnians through Ilidza would be stopped if the captives were not released. "If these men are not freed, the Muslims will find themselves once again trapped inside Sarajevo," a pro-Belgrade Serb security official said.

The action has alarmed some NATO military officials, who warned that the dispute could upset imperialist plans. "A small thing

like this could have a reaction out of all proportion," stated Brig. Andrew Cumming, the British officer who directs the NATO force's Joint Operations Center. Cumming called the arrests "provocative and inflammatory."

The NATO force in Yugoslavia now numbers 57,000 troops in Bosnia and Croatia, U.S. general George Joulwan, senior military commander of NATO, announced February 3. Joulwan said the entire imperialist occupation force will be in place by February 18 or 19. "The movement of troops has gone extremely well," he crowed.

The NATO military operation aims to lay the groundwork to overthrow the workers state in Yugoslavia that was established through a workers and peasants revolution in 1945. Using massive military firepower the imperialists hope to restore capitalist property relations there.

The character of the workers state in Yugoslavia and the obstacles to capitalist development there were highlighted by a *Wall Street Journal* writer reporting on a recent gathering of international investors in Belgrade. "Imports and exports are strictly regulated, and key industries are controlled by the state," the writer complained. Even worse, he said, "a law passed last year allows the government unilaterally to renegotiate or renationalize firms that were unofficially privatized."

"I know some foreign investment will be necessary in our country to oil our wheels," said Boro Kovacevic, commercial director for JAT Yugoslav Airlines. "But not for JAT. Not yet. It's not a good way to operate to accept money from abroad and then give away the profits to foreign investors."

- CALENDAR -

ILLINOIS

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Solidarity Tour to Stop the Execution of Mumia Abu-Jamal. Tue., Feb. 20, 7 p.m. *New World Resource Center*, 1476 West Irving Park Road. Wed., Feb. 21, 6 p.m. Speaker: Ramona Africa. *Center for Inner City Studies*, 700 East Oakwood; 9 p.m. Benefit, *Fireside Bowl*, 2646 W. Fullerton. Thurs., Feb. 22, 6:30 p.m. *Northwestern University, Evanston Campus Harris Hall, Room 107*. Fri., Feb. 23, 7 p.m. *DePaul University, Downtown Campus, 1 East Jackson, Room 8005*. For more information, call (312) 322-1861.

Don't give NATO what it hasn't taken

Discussion with reader on why Yugoslav workers state isn't dismembered yet

BY ARGIRIS MALAPANIS

In a letter printed on page 15, reader Steve Craine raises questions and disagreements with the column "Why Yugoslavia is not yet 'former'" in the January 22 *Militant*. Hasn't the class unity Yugoslav workers won through their revolution, he asks, "been lost or is well on the way to being buried for a long time?" That is the heart of the matter.

The working class in Yugoslavia has been facing deteriorating conditions of life and work for nearly two decades because of the Stalinist bureaucratic and anti-working-class methods of planning and management by the petty-bourgeois layer that controlled state power. The resulting crisis was worsened by the economic stagnation world capitalism has experienced since the mid-1970s, and the depression conditions the entire imperialist system has been mired in since the opening of the 1990s. Yugoslavia was particularly vulnerable since the regime of Josip Tito had opened up its economy to foreign investment and loans from imperialist institutions much earlier than other workers states in Eastern Europe.

The assault on the Yugoslav working class took a qualitative turn for the worse when the competing regimes in the different republics — primarily in Serbia and Croatia — launched their bloody war in 1991 in the attempt to control land, factories, and other economic resources, with the goal of maintaining or improving the parasitic and privileged way of life of the castes they represent.

Since then, the working class in Yugoslavia has been embroiled in a fight to resist this onslaught — much like workers in Russia, France, the United States, Argentina, and elsewhere. Granted, the conditions, challenges, and immediate tasks workers and farmers face in these countries vary widely. But in each of these confrontations communists and all proletarian fighters must never give up what has not been wrested from our class by the enemy class in battle. One of these conquests is the Yugoslav workers state.

The rival gangs of wanna-be capitalists in Serbia, Croatia, and other Yugoslav republics — all originating from the break-up of the formerly centralized Stalinist regime — and the invading imperialist powers would like to declare the Yugoslav federation over. But for some reason they are having a hell of a time making that stick. I will give my reasons.

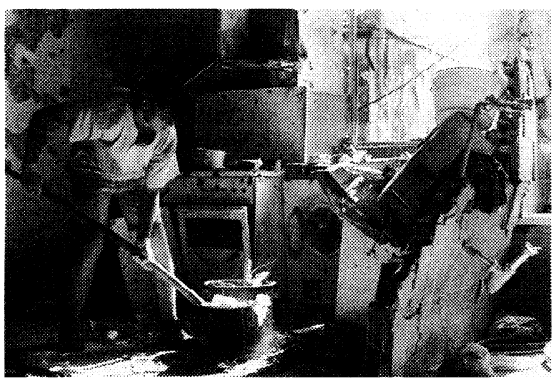
First is the relentless resistance by millions of Yugoslav working people to the attempt to force them to no longer live with, work alongside, and intermarry with those of different national origins as they have done for decades since the triumph of the Yugoslav revolution in the 1940s. This resistance has permeated five years of the slaughter, butchery initiated by the rival bureaucratic regimes and aided by the intervening imperialist powers — first Bonn and then increasingly Paris, London, and Washington.

Beyond obfuscation of capitalist media

To support his argument that most working people in Yugoslavia have been swept up on the side of one or another of the competing bureaucratic gangs, Craine points to "the mass exodus of Serbs from areas surrounding Sarajevo (taking with them even the exhumed bodies of deceased family members)."

According to United Nations figures, some 12,000 of the 70,000 people of Serb origin who live in the suburbs of Sarajevo such as Ilizda and Vogosca had left by early February for other areas controlled by pro-Belgrade forces. Since December a few dozen graves of relatives have been exhumed by some of these departing Serbs, many of whom do not like the prospect of living under the rule of the Bosnian government.

This story of grave removals, like much of what passes as "news" reports, is part of the ruling-class propaganda to justify the imperialist war drive against Yugoslavia. The television scenes and newspaper headlines and photos gave the impression that virtually every Serb in Sarajevo was digging up graves. But buried in the middle of the *New York Times* story, for exam-



Mechanic Nenad Colic, one of 100,000 Yugoslavs of Serbian origin who stayed inside city of Sarajevo after seige, and helped defend it against chauvinist, pro-Belgrade forces who tried to split it up along "ethnic" lines. "These Serbian extremists are terrorists," he said. Inset, Renato Tofic, 20-year-old student of Croatian origin cleaning rubble from his bombed out house in Dubrovnik, Croatia. He deserted "Yugoslav" army, along with several Serbian friends, when Belgrade launched war.

ple, was the fact that only 50 graves had been exhumed. Sorting out propaganda from fact is an essential part of any class-struggle fighter's task in confronting NATO's war drive.

What all the bourgeois media also carefully hide every day is that an equal or greater number of Serbs have stayed inside Sarajevo.

In July 1992, when I visited Sarajevo reporting for the *Militant*, there were 100,000 Yugoslavs of Serbian origin inside the city under siege along with another 200,000 Muslims and Croats. I met some of the Serbs who fought as part of the Bosnian army against the troops of Bosnian Serb chauvinist leader Radovan Karadzic. "These Serbian extremists are terrorists," mechanic Nenad Colic, himself a Serb, told me, referring to Karadzic's army. "I don't know how long we can hold against them."

Ramiz Beshlija, a Muslim shepherd living on the Trebevic mountain in the outskirts of the city, offered to take me to the front line where one of his Serbian neighbors, among several Serbs in the Bosnian defense forces in that end of town alone, was in the trenches with a platoon of the Bosnian army. "Before Sarajevo was attacked he went and fought in Vukovar against the Yugoslav army," Beshlija said of his neighbor. He was referring to the 1991 assault by the army of Serbia's president Slobodan Milosevic on the town of Vukovar in eastern Slavonia, a sliver of Croatian territory now occupied by Belgrade.

Most of these Serbs inside Sarajevo stayed in the city during the four years of relentless bombardment, many giving their lives in battle along with their Muslim brothers and sisters, holding up against the chauvinist forces that often had clear military superiority.

This military resistance to Karadzic's troops in Bosnia has been based on the political resistance by big sections of the Yugoslav working class to the chauvinist offensive right up to today. It has been prevalent not only among Muslims, Serbs, and others inside Sarajevo, but throughout Bosnia and other Yugoslav republics.

Resistance throughout Yugoslavia

A Feb. 1, 1996, article in the Toronto daily *Globe and Mail*, for example, lifted the curtain a little from this well-kept secret by the big-business media.

"There were Serbs who secretly helped the Muslims in attempting to ease the suffering caused by Serb extremists," Ibrahim Halilovic, a Muslim cleric for the northwest Bosnia region around Banja Luka, told the *Globe*. "We are very grateful for that." Banja Luka houses the headquarters of Karadzic's gangs. Since 1992 Halilovic has lived under virtual house arrest there, says the *Globe* article, "presiding over a Muslim community that

was the target of expulsions and violence." Halilovic described how an underground network of Banja Luka residents of Serb origin — smack at the center of the chauvinist Serb stronghold, where many of the "ethnic cleansing" assaults were planned — have opened their homes and given other help to persecuted fellow Yugoslavs of Muslim and Croat origin from 1992 until today.

A few similar stories can occasionally be distilled from items in U.S. dailies amid countless lines always ascribing the roots of the conflict to centuries-old animosity between Serbs, Muslims, and Croats; lines of type shaped by gallons of ink that the bourgeois editors never allow to form the word "Yugoslav" when describing the people of Yugoslavia.

An item in the January 18 *New York Times*, for example, quoted several Serbs in the rural town of Ljubinja in southeastern Bosnia, in an area under Karadzic's control. Referring to the war he described as senseless, Zeljko Berberovic told the *Times* reporter, "I got out alive, and now the only thing I want is to leave the Serbian republic [that is the area Karadzic's ilk want to break off from Bosnia and preserve just for Serbs]. I'll go almost anywhere else." Thousands of other Serbs in these "ethnically pure" areas feel the same disgust toward the chauvinist offensive and are ready to act on their beliefs.

Desertions from 'Yugoslav' army

As many as 50 percent of those called up for the draft under Belgrade's rule to fight in the "Yugoslav" army against fellow working people in Slovenia and Croatia in 1991 refused. (The Yugoslav army came under the complete control of Milosevic's regime by 1991.) And thousands more youth, many of Serbian origin, deserted the same army when Belgrade launched its war against Bosnia. The desertions have continued, though on a smaller scale.

Even among many of the Serbs who fought in the Yugoslav army there is little identification with the course ordered by Belgrade and its lackeys in Bosnia. Miroljub Torbica, a Serb who spent four years in a Bosnian government jail as a prisoner of war and was released recently in an inmate exchange, told the *New York Times* January 27, "I was part of the Yugoslav army. It was my job, but I am not a Chetnik." Chetnik is the derogatory term widely used by citizens of Sarajevo to describe Karadzic's forces.

The Chetniks were a guerrilla group in the early 1940s set up with London's backing by people loyal to the Serbian monarchy that ruled Yugoslavia before the 1945 revolution. They were a Serbian chauvinist group that fought some battles in the mountains against the occupying German troops at the time. But their main role was to counter the domination of the

liberation movement by the Partisans, led by the Yugoslav Communist Party.

Torbica told the *Times* he would like to stay in Sarajevo, his hometown, where he has many friends.

Similar reactions are found among many of the more than two million refugees displaced by the war. At least a dozen *Militant* readers who are industrial workers have described to me discussions with a number of co-workers from Yugoslavia who have immigrated to the United States as a result of the war. One common thread among these stories is that the big majority of these workers consider themselves Yugoslavs. Some take it as an insult to be called "Serbs," "Muslims," or "Croats" regardless of their national origin.

These are a few of the countless examples that prove working people throughout Yugoslavia have continued to defend one of the fundamental gains of the revolution: class unity that cut across national lines.

It is this Yugoslav working class that in its millions remains the obstacle to the aims of the competing gangs of bureaucrats and above all to the invading imperialist armies.

Why many buy nationalist demagoguery

During the early 1940s, workers and peasants of varied national origins and beliefs in Yugoslavia organized an armed movement, led by the Partisans, to throw off the German imperialist occupation during World War II. In the process they launched a powerful social revolution. Working people took the power out of the hands of the landlords and capitalists. By the end of the 1940s they had carried out a radical land reform and expropriated the bourgeoisie's factories, mines, warehouses, and banks. They had established a workers state.

The gains of the revolution extended well into the 1960s. They included the progressive narrowing of the gap in living standards and working conditions between the highly industrialized republics such as Slovenia and the less developed like Macedonia. Such affirmative action programs, along with respect for different languages and cultures, cemented the bonds of working-class unity.

But the Tito leadership acted to break the forward motion of the revolution and hasten its bureaucratic degeneration. Belgrade carried out a policy of conciliation toward imperialism, backing Washington in the Korean War and taking a "neutral" stance during the U.S. assault on Vietnam. Capitalist methods of competition among enterprises and profitability were institutionalized in industry, packaged as "workers' self-management." Market mechanisms were extolled, encouraging eventual competition between different republics. The state monopoly of foreign trade was allowed to erode.

As a result, the direction of the early measures of the revolution was halted and began to be reversed, a process that accelerated in the 1970s. Social differentiation began to widen. It was amplified by the impact of the first capitalist world recession in 1974-75.

At the opening of the 1990s, the Stalinist regime and Communist Party that dominated the Yugoslav workers state begun to crumble, as was happening in the workers states throughout Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. When members of the petty-bourgeois layer that dominated the state apparatus in Yugoslavia organized along nationalist lines to justify the grabbing of territory and resources, they did find some support among the population in each republic.

Because of decades of Stalinist misleadership, the class consciousness of workers and farmers had been eroded. The regime in Belgrade, the main culprit for the slaughter, also played on the fact that millions of working people opposed imperialist intervention — either in the form of German tanks and military advisers first sent by Bonn to the Croatian regime of Franjo Tudjman in Zagreb, or the subsequent sanctions slapped on Serbia and Montenegro by the United Nations. For these combined reasons many working

Continued on Page 14

Bonn's cuts in social wage meet resistance

BY CARL-ERIK ISACSSON

STOCKHOLM, Sweden — As tens of thousands of workers in Germany protested government plans to cut early retirement and unemployment benefits, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl held an emergency meeting January 23 with representatives of the employers and the unions. The session was aimed at hammering out an agreement on "labor flexibility" and restructuring the social gains workers in Germany have won — all in the name of reducing unemployment, which stands near 10 percent, or about 4 million workers.

Two months ago the president of the metalworkers union IG Metall, Klaus Zwickel, proposed "an alliance for jobs" that would freeze real wages in return for the employers' pledge to create 333,000 jobs over three years. Kohl early on welcomed the concession offer, while the employers have demanded more and been cautious to promise to reduce unemployment through reducing overtime and shortening the workweek. Instead they claim there will be more jobs if economic growth is stimulated by more work "flexibility" and reduced labor costs.

The government and the political parties are campaigning to lower the social wage. Early retirement pensions are one target. As industries, especially steel, have been restructured and downsized, the bosses have cut tens of thousands of jobs. Many workers in their fifties have opted for early retirement, which current social programs make it possible to live on.

In early January the government announced plans to make it harder to get these early retirement pensions and also to reduce unemployment benefits. More than 70,000 members of the metalworkers union came out in a one-day protest strike on January 22 and demonstrated against the government's plans.

Reflecting the pressures on the union officialdom to appear tough on the ques-



Steelworkers in Duisburg join January 22 one-day strike protest against government plans to cut early retirement and unemployment benefits.

tion of unemployment, Dieter Schulte, the president of the German union federation, said he expected new jobs already this year. "If it will only lead to a reduction of the growth of unemployment this year I would be deeply disappointed," he said.

Bonn releases plan for cuts

The German government on January 30 announced it had a plan for "growth." Although the German press for weeks had been full of test balloons about proposals to cut the social wage, very little of that was concretely exposed in Kohl's plan. "The welfare state has to be reformed in an evolutionary manner. A revolution would crash the whole system," said labor minister Norbert Blüm.

In the plan there are proposals to reduce company and private taxes, cut unemploy-

ment benefits and early retirement pensions, and increase privatizations of public enterprises. But most of these proposals are not supposed to take effect for a couple of years.

Included is a proposal to reduce the "solidarity tax," which was first introduced in 1991-92 ostensibly to finance the restructuring of eastern Germany, from 7.5 percent to 5.5 percent. The Free Democratic Party (FDP), a small but important government coalition partner, had campaigned for this. State governments in eastern Germany were outraged by the proposal, despite assurances by Bonn that the East would get the money from other sources. Eastern Germany remains a tremendous problem for the government in Bonn. Workers still think conditions should get better, not worse, and stable,

profitable capitalism is far from being reestablished.

A sign of what's ahead was the attempt by the right-winger and former national prosecutor Alexander von Stahl to become the chairman of the Berlin chapter of the FDP. Günter Rexrodt, the minister of finance in the present Bonn government, had resigned from the chairmanship after a defeat of the party in the state elections in Berlin, where they didn't get any seats. Von Stahl didn't become chairman, but he won a third of the votes.

Von Stahl and his followers want to convert the FDP into the same kind of outfit as the Freedom Party in Austria headed by right-winger Jörg Haider. Haider espouses ultranationalist and anti-immigrant policies and in 1991 was forced out of his position as provisional governor of Carinthia, Austria's southernmost province, for praising the employment policies of the Nazis.

Imperialist competition

As with all the imperialist bourgeoisies in Europe, the German capitalists have too weak a government to deal with the real issues they face — how to gut the social wage to gain competitiveness vis-à-vis its competitors in Europe and North America, and how to be able to play more of a role in foreign policy, especially in the military build-up in Yugoslavia.

The German rulers lag behind most of their competitors in cutting wages and social benefits. The cost of labor in the German chemical industry, for example, is 25 percent higher than in France, and nearly double that in the United States or Britain, according to the chemical employers' association.

The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development reports that unit labor costs in Germany have risen 22 percent since 1990, compared to a 10 percent drop in the United States in the same period. And the Federal Labor Ministry says that permanent layoffs cost Bonn about \$150,000 per worker in pensions and unemployment compensation.

Cuts in the social wage that many feared would be included in the Kohl government's plan, such as having the first day in a sick leave be unpaid — decided in Sweden two years ago — were not even under debate, noted an article in the Swedish daily *Svenska Dagbladet*. The paper quotes Dieter Hundt, who is to become chief of the employers' association, in Germany saying, "We have not come as far as in Sweden yet." But the rulers in Sweden have also not carried out what they need to and fear social unrest if they push too hard.

A recently announced Swedish government program — dubbed the Persson plan after Minister of Finance Göran Persson, who soon is to become prime minister and head of the Social Democratic Party — includes plans over the next few years to restore unemployment benefits and sick leave payments to the levels they were at a few years ago. In recent opinion polls in Sweden the Social Democrats have been bypassed by the Conservative Party. Both polled around 30 percent, with the Social Democrats down from about 50 percent two years ago.

Paris losing ground to competitors

BY MICHEL DUGRÉ

PARIS — "It is not in the nature of the French nation to live through reforms passively," said president Jacques Chirac during his recent visit to the United States. The French daily *Le Monde* expressed doubts that this attempt to downplay last December's massive labor unrest in France would be convincing to U.S. capitalist investors.

Still reeling from the impact of these mobilizations, the biggest in France in over two decades, French capitalists are now confronting a new downturn. Unemployment in France has increased steadily since September and now stands, officially, at 11.7 percent. More than a third of the 3 million unemployed have been out of work for longer than a year.

On January 30, the Chirac government announced a series of measures aimed at increasing the demand for industrial products. "Indecision in Paris, Determination in Bonn," is how *Le Monde* compared these measures to others introduced the same day by the German government.

Losing ground on the economic front, the French imperialists have taken a series of steps aimed at strengthening their position vis-à-vis their imperialist competitors

in Europe. Announcing the conclusion of France's current nuclear testing program on January 29, Chirac spent most of his speech defending the program itself. "I have the feeling," he said, "that I have accomplished my first responsibility in giving France, for decades to come, the means of its independence and security." Despite what he called the "frightening" power of nuclear bombs, he insisted France's arsenal would "serve the interests of peace."

France, Chirac said, will now "play an active and determined role in favor of disarmament in the world and also for a better European defense." French capitalists are using their nuclear power as an edge against their rivals, in particular in Germany and Japan.

The recent decision by Paris to return to the NATO military command after three decades of developing an independent nuclear arsenal and its decision to integrate French nuclear forces with those of its imperialist allies in Europe and North America is aimed at maximizing the influence of the French capitalists in the world.

France remains an important economic power. It is the fourth world exporter of products and the second of services. Ex-

portations per capita are higher from France than United States or Japan.

But Paris is losing ground to its main imperialist competitors. Its reintegration into NATO is also a reflection of the dominant role of U.S. military power in the world today as can be seen in Yugoslavia. French troops in Yugoslavia are now under NATO's command, largely dominated by U.S. military forces.

Paris's reintegration into NATO is an implicit confession of the inability of the governments in France and other countries in Europe on their own to build up a military intervention strong enough to seriously attempt the reimposition of capitalism in this part of the world.

While at a much lower level, labor resistance to the bosses' offensive continues. The General Confederation of Labor (CGT) has called for demonstrations in several cities on February 11. The mobilization is for wage increases, jobs, reduction of the workweek, and the withdrawal of Prime Minister Alain Juppé's austerity plan.

Labor actions set in Ontario

BY ROBERT SIMMS

LONDON, Ontario — Hamilton has been targeted as the next city in Ontario where the labor movement and its allies will launch protest strikes and demonstrations against massive social cuts and roll-backs of workers' rights by the provincial government led by Premier Mike Harris. These actions will take place Friday, February 23, and Saturday, February 24.

The planned protests became part of the discussion at a meeting here January 20, where more than 40 people, including unionists from several Canadian Auto Workers (CAW) locals and students from the University of Western Ontario, came to hear a report from France on the worker-student revolt against social cuts last December.

Al Cappe, a laid-off steelworker, and Guy Tremblay, a paperworker and member of the Young Socialists in Montreal, were invited to speak at the London meet-

ing by the Human Rights Committee of CAW Local 27. Both had been in France to participate in the events of the worker-student political protests.

The participants in the meeting were all veterans of the successful December 11 protest in London that shut down dozens of factories and offices and featured a rally of 15,000 workers and youth.

Debbie Tveit, an Ontario Federation of Labor vice president and worker at an auto parts plant in Tillsonburg, also spoke at the meeting, outlining the aims of the Hamilton protest.

There will be both work stoppages and demonstrations over the two days, including a Saturday, she said, which will allow more workers, especially those in the public sector, to get involved.

One worker from the Ford plant at St. Thomas reported plans to get several busloads of CAW members in the London region to Hamilton.

Socialist Educational and Activist Weekend in London, England

Stop NATO's War Drive Against Yugoslavia! Emulate the Cuban Revolution! 23-25 February 1996

Friday, Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.

"The Fight Against Imperialism's March to War in Yugoslavia" Speaker: Marcella FitzGerald, Communist League, who participated in the December 1995 actions in Paris.

Saturday, Feb. 24, 11 a.m.

"Stop the Asylum and Immigration Bill" National demonstration, Embankment to Trafalgar Square 6 p.m.

"Defend Cuba, Defend Cuba's Socialist Revolution." Speaker: Jonathan Silberman, contributing editor *New Internationalist*, just returned from Havana Bookfair.

Sunday, Feb. 25

Classes on: "The Social Mobilizations in France and the Fight for Quebec Independence," "Lessons of the Gulf War," and "The Spanish Civil War: Sixty Years On."

Youth discuss imperialism's march to fascism and war. Hosted by Young Socialists in preparation for their Easter convention.

Presentation: "The Fight for An Independent and United Ireland and the Crisis of the United Kingdom." Speaker: Pete Clifford, activist in the Irish Peace Initiative and Saoirse and a leader of the Communist League.

Pathfinder Bookshop 47 The Cut, London SE1 8LL
Sponsored by Communist League and Young Socialists. Tel: 0171-401 2293

Workers buy books, sign up for readers club on the job

Pathfinder, located in New York with distributors in Australia, Canada, and the United Kingdom, publishes books and pamphlets by revolutionary and working-class leaders. Pathfinder bookstores are listed in the directory on page 12.

Efforts by promoters of Pathfinder to expand the sales of revolutionary books and pamphlets are off to a good start. Re-

readers club in one week.

For an annual fee of \$10, members of the readers club receive a 15 percent discount on all Pathfinder publications. Members also enjoy even higher discounts on selected titles.

"Early in the week one co-worker said he would buy *February 1965: The Final Speeches* by Malcolm X and *Malcolm X on Afro-American History*. By the end of the week Pathfinder announced a 25 per-

cent off sale on these titles, among others, for Black History Month. This settled the question, and he joined the readers club too," Miller continued.

"This is a real eye-opener, revealing the extent of interest among auto workers in these political weapons," Miller writes. Twelve co-workers bought books from Miller, nine for the first time. Titles purchased also included *Teamster Rebellion* by Farrell Dobbs and *The Eastern Airlines Strike* by Ernie Mailhot.

Pathfinder supporters in Boston have netted results in their efforts to increase sales of Pathfinder books through retail outlets, faxing in four orders totaling nearly 150 books from bookstores in their region.

An order for 95 books came in from a large store near several Boston campuses. Among the books ordered were several copies of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* and *The Bolivian Diary of Ernesto Che Guevara*, ten copies of the newly reissued *Communist Manifesto*, and *Ireland and the Irish Question* by Karl

Marx and Frederick Engels.

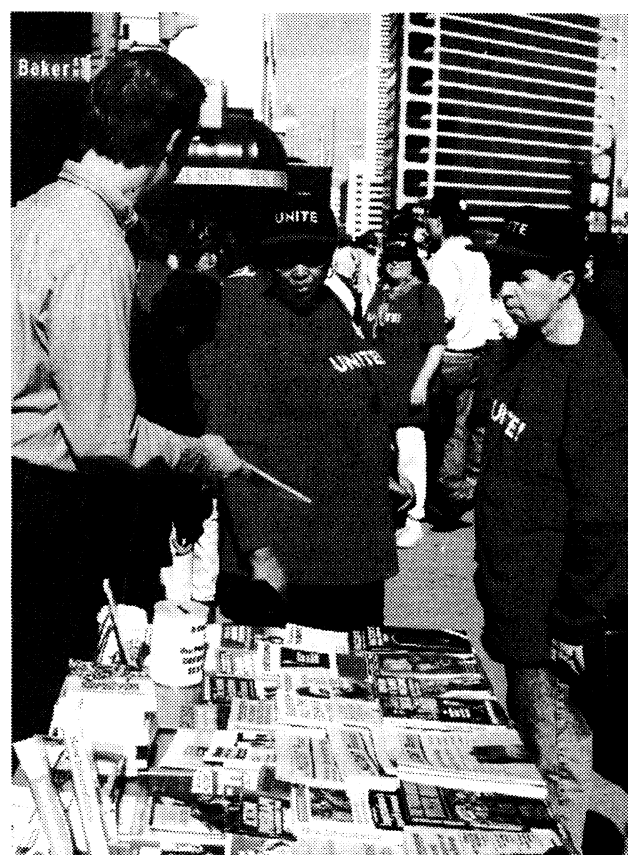
A note from Mary Nell Bockman accompanied an order from a college bookstore in Worcester, Massachusetts. "They will do a display for Black History Month featuring these books. Can we rush the order so they can get it by Friday? They also want copies of whatever posters we are promoting with the books. We have three more visits lined up next week as well."

A college bookstore in Boston ordered *New International* no. 10 which features the articles "Imperialism's March Toward Fascism and War" and "Defending Cuba, Defending Cuba's Socialist Revolution," *The Truth About Yugoslavia*, and the Spanish-language titles *Habla Malcolm X* and *¡Qué lejos hemos llegado los esclavos!* (How Far We Slaves Have Come) by Nelson Mandela and Fidel Castro.

Pathfinder received a copy of a review of *Woman's Evolution* by Evelyn Reed that appeared in *The WomanSource Catalog & Review*, an "eclectic review of books, periodicals, organizations, products, and other resources for women."

"The family as it exists in modern society is, for the most part, a patriarchal institution with men as the head of households and holding the lines of descent. But has it always been that way?" the reviewer asks.

"Not according to this anthropological history of family which traces society back to its earliest and longest period of 'savagery,' a period lasting a million years



Militant/Linda Joyce

Pathfinder supporter showing *The Eastern Airlines Strike* book to union members at the Martin Luther King March held January 15 in Atlanta.

during which matriarchal clans originated as the first social structures of family."

The reviewer dubs *Woman's Evolution* "a painstakingly researched and fascinating history."

'Militant' on the Internet

The *Militant* newspaper can be accessed through any internet provider at:

<gopher://gopher.igc.apc.org:70/11/pubs/militant>

The internet site includes a menu item to browse the last four issues, as well as the capability to search by key word all the *Militant* articles that have been put on line over the past year.

Selling Che's 'Episodes' leads to talk on revolution

BY GREG MCCARTAN

This past weekend more national meetings took place of socialists who are members of industrial unions. The chart below

includes goals adopted at these meetings as part of the campaign to sell *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* by socialists who are members of the United Steelworkers of America, the United Auto Workers union, the United Mine Workers of America, and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

Next week the *Militant* will list the national goal in this campaign, and an ending date for meeting the goals. Readers are encouraged to send any information on the campaign or sales on the job to the *Militant* for use in this column. Sales results to be listed in the *Militant* should be received at the *Militant* business office by 12:00 noon, Eastern Standard Time, each Tuesday.

Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War, by Ernesto Che Guevara, was just released by Pathfinder. Socialist workers and youth are adopting ambitious goals for selling the book as part of a working-class campaign against Washington's war drive against Yugoslavia, and as the best way to increase overall sales of Pathfinder books. Central to this effort are sales to workers on the job, at picket lines, plant gates, mine portals, and elsewhere.

Episodes describes the military battles and political campaigns of the Rebel Army in Cuba from 1956 to 1958 that culminated in the January 1959 mass armed insurrection that overthrew the U.S.-back Batista dictatorship.

Guevara's writings show how he and other Rebel Army combatants were transformed by their experiences into battle-tested leaders of working peo-

ple in Cuba. He shows how the revolution's social program emerged out of deepening class-struggle experience by workers and peasants themselves, and how the Rebel Army grew into a movement capable of leading millions to carry through a socialist revolution in the years after the 1959 victory.

Reading the book is one of the best ways to learn about the fight for power on the part of working people, which is at the heart of the communist approach to fighting imperialist war.

Dan Fein, a member of United Transportation Union Local 1416 in Salt Lake City, Utah, has been showing the book around. "A subscriber to the *Militant* picked up a copy of the *Episodes* book as soon as he saw it after getting off work last week. He works at the Southern Pacific railroad as a brakeman/switchman," Fein writes, "and is a member of the UTU." Fein and his co-worker also sent for applications to attend the April meeting of the Central Organization of Cuban Workers (CTC), whose leadership has invited workers from the United States and other countries to attend the 17th CTC congress.

In Alabama, two socialists who are members of the United Mine Workers of America Local 2368 at Jim Walter Resources no. 5 mine have each sold a copy of Guevara's book to a co-worker. "Both have read books from Pathfinder before, and on Cuba. So they were interested in getting this new book too," reports John Hawkins. "One became a member of the Pathfinder Readers Club. We are also talking to people about attending the CTC congress. Another book sold this week was *Teamster Rebellion*, so we've sold three books in three weeks! By paying close attention to every political discussion and thinking about how to advance those discussions it is clear that there is a Pathfinder title to use in most cases," he said. Supporters in Birmingham raised their goal to 60 this week.

Eva Braiman and Nell Wheeler spent a couple days of their vacation in Albany,

New York, on a Pathfinder sales trip. While visiting several retail stores and the university library, the two called *Militant* subscribers in the area to see if they had been reading about the new book and if they wanted to purchase a copy. Three were sold altogether.

A subscriber to *Perspectiva Mundial* bought *Episodes* and *The Truth About Yugoslavia* as well. "She is a Puerto Rican woman and really wanted to find out about what is going on in Yugoslavia and what to do about it," Wheeler said. Another copy was sold to a Kurdish immigrant from Turkey. "A lot of our discussion with him was on whether or not it is possible to make a revolution today," she said. "He bought the book to find out how to build a fighting movement and what kind of program that movement needs to win. He wanted to get the whole story on the Cuban revolution."

Katy Karlin, a member of the Oil, Chemical, and Atomic Workers union in Newark, New Jersey, reports that getting into discussions with co-workers on the new book led to a sale of *New International* no. 6. A worker originally from Trinidad, while deciding not to get *Episodes*, purchased *New International* no. 6 because he had followed the revolution in Grenada. That issue of the magazine of Marxist politics and theory features "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop," by Steve Clark. Bishop, the central leader of the Grenadian revolution in the early 1980s, was assassinated during the 1983 counterrevolutionary coup led by Bernard Coard, which opened the way to the defeat of the revolution and an invasion by Washington's military forces.

Copies of a color poster of the cover of *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War* were shipped last week by Pathfinder. Posters can be ordered for \$.50 each. Also available in limited quantities is an 8½" X 11" photo sheet used in a press mailing. The sheet can be used locally for further press work. Material can be ordered from Pathfinder by calling (212) 741-0690.

Campaigning with 'Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War'	
Country/City	Goal
UNITED STATES	
Atlanta, GA	25
Birmingham, AL	40
Boston	60
Brooklyn	100
Chicago	50
Cleveland	45
Des Moines	32
Detroit	25
Greensboro	45
Houston	—
Los Angeles	100
Miami	50
Morgantown	27
New York	130
Newark	125
Peoria	20
Philadelphia	45
Pittsburgh	40
Salt Lake City	60
San Francisco	70
Seattle	80
Twin Cities	60
Washington, D.C.	75
TOTAL SO FAR	1304
IN THE UNIONS	
IAM	90
OCAW	60
UAW	110
UFCW	12
UMWA	7
UNITE	40
USWA	60
UTU	80

IAM—International Association of Machinists; OCAW—Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers; UAW—United Auto Workers; UFCW—United Food and Commercial Workers; UNITE—Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees; USWA—United Steelworkers of America; UTU—United Transportation Union.

'I argued that women too could fight'

Interview with first woman to join Che Guevara's column of Rebel Army

Pathfinder Press is releasing a new edition of Ernesto Che Guevara's *Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War—1956-58*, including material never before available in English.

To promote this book the *Militant* is running "Pages from Cuba's revolutionary history." This series features articles by and about combatants of the July 26 Movement and the Rebel Army, which led the revolutionary war that overthrew the U.S.-backed dictatorship of Fulgencio Batista and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

The following is the fourth installment—a story about Oniria Gutiérrez, the first woman who joined Guevara's Rebel Army column in the Sierra Maestra. This article appeared first in the weekly Cuban magazine *Bohemia* on Oct. 20, 1967. The translation and subheads are by the *Militant*.



Oniria Gutiérrez is a young woman of medium height, with a lively demeanor. She graciously accepted an interview with a *Bohemia* reporter in her apartment, briefly interrupting her daily work of tending to her three small children.

It is surprising to Oniria that a journalist would want to interview her about Che Guevara. However, Oniria is the first woman who joined the legendary commander's military column, which operated in the wild mountains of eastern Cuba. Finally, after an initial reluctance, she begins to speak, and a piece of revolutionary history springs from her lips.

"I arrived at Che's column on August 3, 1957. They were in Alto de Santa Ana, right after the battle of Bueycito had taken place—that was on August 1. It was the first time I saw Che and it was also the first time I saw an encampment. Actually, I had never been involved with the guerrillas, nor even the July 26 Movement. I lived in Victoria de las Tunas and I went on my own account."

Oniria's first words are marked with enthusiasm for telling everything—up to the finest details. For Oniria, meeting Che for the first time was unforgettable and decisive for her life:



Women fought in the Rebel Army in the Sierra Maestra. Above, members of Mariana Grajales Platoon, a contingent of women combatants formed in late 1958, with Fidel Castro (center).

"After almost a month of wandering, they led me to the Sierra Maestra mountains. I remember that when I went up to the house of a peasant in Minas de Bueycito, I thought that I was in liberated territory and I told the peasant that I wanted to join the insurgents. Luckily, they were good people and they sent me to where comrade Olivé from the [July 26] Movement was. After that, I continued climbing up into the mountains, going from house to house. I was overcome with emotion when I was finally stopped by one of the guerrilla rebels, who was wearing the armband of the July 26 Movement.

"The truth is that I started to cry. Of course, I didn't know that it was Che's encampment. But then I saw him, as well as Ramiro [Valdés], Ciro Redondo, and others. Che was in the little house that served as general staff headquarters when I came

to tell him that I wanted to join the Rebel Army. He told me that it was totally impossible, that it would be very hard for a woman in my physical condition, that I would be more useful in the cities, and I don't know what else."

Oniria briefly pauses to put her thoughts in order while the *Bohemia* reporter's eyes drift over to a beautiful portrait of Che, hung above the sofa in the living room. Hung on one side of the frame, curiously, is a red beret, the type worn by the Committees in Defense of the Revolution (CDRs) in the Plaza of the Revolution last September 28. After that, Oniria continues her interesting story:

Women proved they could fight

"I continued arguing about this with Che, with Ramiro, with Ciro, for a good long time. Finally, I took Che aside and I told him that the fact that Celia [Sánchez] was in the Sierra Maestra demonstrated that women too could fight. I proposed that he give me the opportunity to stay in the encampment for three or four days, and, if I could handle it, that he let me stay for good. So he accepted. Sometimes I think about why he accepted and I think that it was because of my persistent pleas. I begged him: 'Come on, commander, please, don't be bad,' over and over again until he accepted my proposal."

When she joined Che's troops, Oniria Gutiérrez was only 17 years old. Her extraordinary youthfulness brought out the sympathy in everyone, especially in Commander Guevara. Now, with a slight smile, she remembers the special attention he gave her:

"Che really looked out for me. I was just a young girl, and at night he was always concerned about where I was, what I was doing. When I joined his column, I didn't have a blanket or a hammock, and he scolded me affectionately. I told him that I thought that everybody there slept on the ground. Then he gave me his hammock and his blanket. I saw how he endured the cold until he could find another blanket. Oh, how he was with me...!"

There are many anecdotes and Oniria tries to remember them all. She doesn't forget how in her first days in the encampment, she devoted herself to helping the rebel soldiers, mending and washing their clothes. Finally Che intervened, ordering her to stop. "Before you came," he said, "everyone took care of their own problems here."

"He didn't want to let me go to the battles," Oniria continues, "I think he saw me more or less as a young girl and he kidded around with me a lot. Between August 28 and 30, there was a skirmish with the

Batista army, and even though they warned me not to go, I went to speak with Che just as they were about to leave for the battle. I convinced him and he said, 'Let's go!' Then he put me 'in charge' of watching his field glasses and his coat while they fought, and gave me a small revolver for my personal defense.

"I also can't forget the first night that he and I spoke in depth. He asked me about my political ideas, and if I belonged to any political party. I told him that I supported the Orthodox Party, that my whole family did. Then he asked me about my religious ideas and, in turn, I asked him if he was religious. 'No,' he answered, 'I can't be religious because I'm a communist.'

"For a young person like me, without much knowledge of politics and who had heard only bad things about communism, it was a surprise. I gave a start in my hammock and said to him: 'You can't be a communist, because you're such a good person.' Then Che laughed a lot and started explaining to me all the things I didn't know."

One interesting anecdote after another rolls off the lips of this veteran of the Sierra Maestra:

"Many times we would get together in groups and talk. There were compañeros who would always say that when we triumphed in the struggle against Batista, we should go to other countries and fight. I once asked Che, 'As an Argentine, Che, why did you come here? It's fine that we're fighting, but you...?' He replied to my words with understanding, using a phrase I will never forget: 'We all have to help one another...' I remember that he would always say that he would not die of old age. I think he repeated this because he always planned to continue fighting."

A question comes up that throws Oniria deep into thought. She is asked which aspect of Commander Ernesto Che Guevara's character is, to her, the most fundamental. At last she responds slowly:

"So many things! He was sensitive, honest and straightforward, disciplined... so many things. He was very human, with an enormous and fierce sense of duty. I remember one time when an individual had to be executed. You could see that Che was concerned about it, even though it was necessary, because there was no way this man could be pardoned for what he had done. He was a traitor who had assaulted peasants and raped women, and in the name of the Movement, no less!"

"The order was to execute him with a single shot and a compañero was designated to do the job. However, he exceeded his orders, shooting the traitor two or three times. Che, who was sitting in his hammock awaiting the execution, got up, very upset, and shouted 'Enough!' at the compañero who was entrusted with executing the traitor. It was as if he wanted to prevent anything out-of-the-ordinary from happening."

The personal courage of the heroic commander, which was demonstrated so many times, is also evoked in the interview:

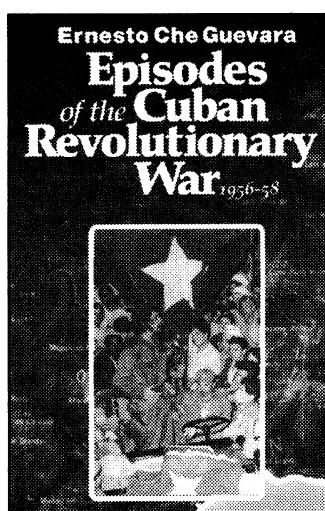
"During the second battle of Pino del Agua, which was very long, when the enemy planes came to bomb and strafe us, we had to find cover under trees and rocks and wait until the planes left. I was behind some rocks and when I lifted my head up, I saw Che standing there, calmly smoking his pipe and observing how the planes swooped down. I left my hiding place and went running to his side, where, despite his protests, I stayed, because if the planes didn't bother him, I wasn't going to let them bother me either."

Discipline in the camp

All the affection that Che demonstrated for Oniria didn't stop him from subjecting her to the iron discipline of the camp. One clear example of this occurred during the battle of Mar Verde. Che ordered the troops to march because there were large contingents of enemy forces nearby. He also ordered the women and wounded to be taken somewhere safe. He sent them to Alto del Hombrito with

Continued on Page 13

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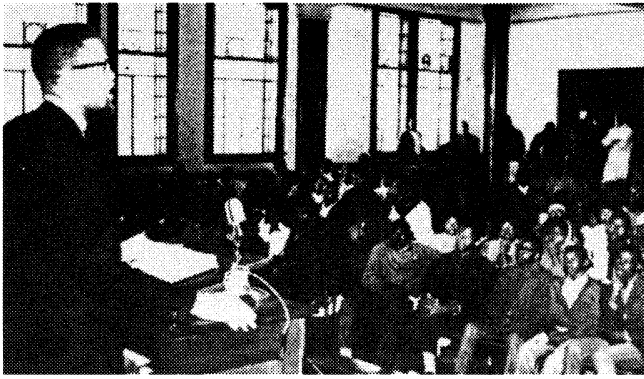
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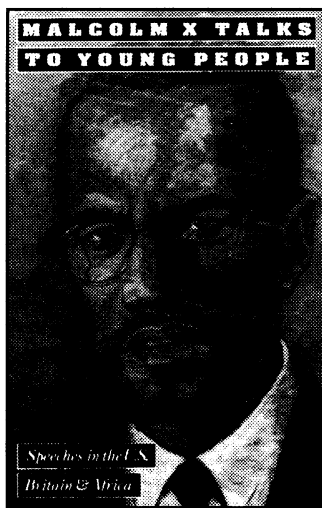
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Malcolm X addressing young civil rights fighters in Selma, Alabama, in February 1965, shortly before his assassination. Malcolm argued that the fight against racism is part of a worldwide struggle. "There is no better example of criminal activity against an oppressed people than the role the U.S. has been playing in the Congo," he said in January 1965.

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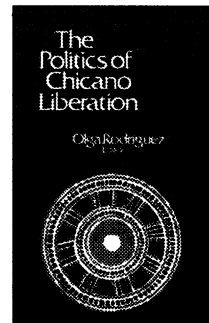
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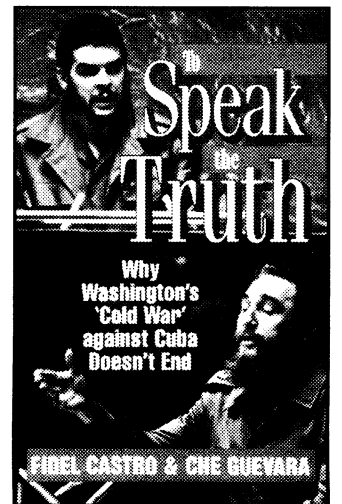


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Malcolm X

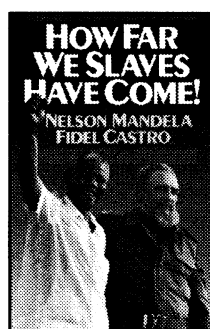
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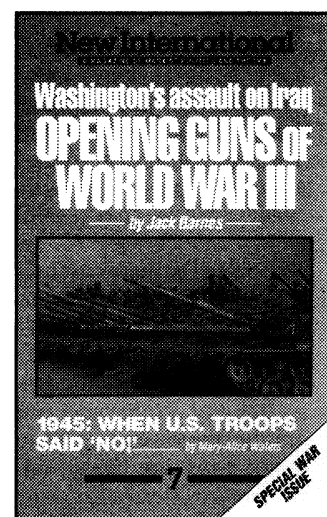
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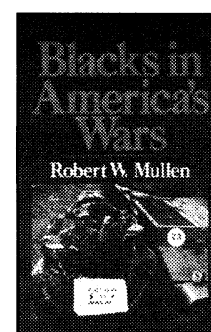


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Jack Barnes

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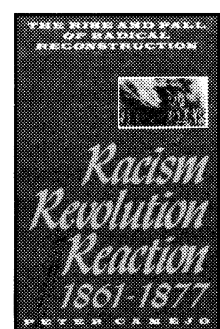
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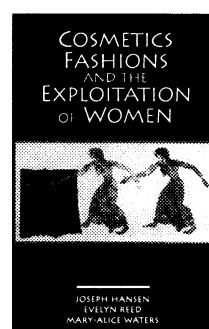
Nelson Blackstock

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Protest blasts Utah firing-squad killing

BY DAN FEIN

SALT LAKE City — "Hey hey, ho, ho, the death penalty has to go!" chanted 50 demonstrators who rallied in blizzard conditions at the Federal Building in Salt Lake City January 24 to protest the death penalty and the scheduled execution of John Albert Taylor. Two days later a firing squad carried out the death order.

The last time a prisoner died by firing squad in the U.S. was in 1977 when the state of Utah killed Gary Gilmore after a 10-year hiatus in executions.

Taylor, 36, had maintained his innocence. He was convicted of the 1989 rape and murder of 11-year-old Charla King. Taylor told his lawyers he preferred death to life under the prison conditions, where he was locked up 23 hours a day and had very few rights. He had dropped all appeals.

Media attention to this execution was heightened because of the method used. TV cameras from around the world descended on Utah to film the execution chamber at the Utah Prison Complex in Draper, Utah, where Taylor died. They also covered the demonstration against the death penalty.

Nadine Strossen, president of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke at the rally and labeled the death penalty

"brutal" and "cruel and unusual punishment regardless of the method used."

The state legislature is considering a law to prevent condemned prisoners from choosing the firing squad. Most states use lethal injections. Gov. Mike Leavitt and the main daily here, the *Salt Lake Tribune*, favor changing the law, arguing that the firing squad blemishes Utah's image. Salt Lake City will host the 2002 Winter Olympics.

A "Death Penalty Fact Sheet" prepared by the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund counts the number of death row inmates in the U.S. as 3,046 as of last fall, 40.5 percent of them Black.

Joe Baker, the western region executive director of Amnesty International (AI) USA, addressed the crowd. Baker called the death penalty "a human rights abuse," and added, "Even though the present polls show a majority in favor, this can change with educational work."

Ron Yengich, a well-known prisoner's rights lawyer here, denounced the state-sponsored murder, characterizing it as "barbaric and inhumane." He said, "Taylor's death will not bring anyone back to life."

Dan Fein spoke for the Socialist Workers Party and said the purpose of the death penalty is to "terrorize working people, es-



Militant/Dave Wulp

January protest in Salt Lake City, Utah, against the planned execution by firing squad of John Albert Taylor. Taylor was murdered by the state on January 26.

pecially Blacks and Latinos." He called for the withdrawal of all U.S. and NATO troops from Yugoslavia who "are not there to bring peace, but to bring war against the working people there."

Rally sponsors included the ACLU, AI, NAACP, SWP, Young Socialists, and the Black Student Union at the University of Utah.

The *Salt Lake Tribune* ran photos of the

.30-caliber bullets and the rifles to be used on Taylor on the front page of the January 25 edition. The accompanying article said "Six sharpshooters were selected as executioners from a 'sizable' list of names submitted by leaders of local and state law-enforcement agencies."

Dan Fein is a member of United Transportation Union Local 1416.

'What drives me is prosecuting murderous cops'

BY SALM KOLIS
AND MIKE ITALIE

ATHENS, Georgia — "What drives me is prosecuting the cops who were responsible for murdering my brother," said 22-year-old Kisha Wright. "Attorneys focusing on money can't do anything for me. Prosecution and jail is what I want to see so I can get up and face the day," she said here January 6 speaking to a group of students from the University of Georgia. Kisha is the older sister of Edward Wright, a Black worker who was murdered by police officer Sean Potter early in the morning of Oct. 12, 1995, the same day Jonny Gammage was killed by cops in Pittsburgh.

"This is a community thing," she went on to explain. "I have to continue to protest not just for Edward. They have already taken him from me. I don't want them to take anyone else. I have other brothers, relatives, friends and neighbors. Who will be next if we don't stop this?"

Twenty-year-old Edward Wright was a cabinetmaker at Lectro Products. Wright left his mother's house around 7:00 a.m., without any clothes on and began running through the neighborhood. Unable to

catch up with her son, his mother called the cops. She explained that he was not dangerous, but wasn't in his right mind and asked for their help in locating him.

In their report, cops Sean Potter and Pat Mercardante describe Wright as being violent, out of control, and probably on drugs. They claim that they were unable to subdue him with either blows from their police batons or pepper mace gas to the face. They state that he kept coming towards them, beating his fists on his chest. Only then, the cops assert, did they shoot Wright four times. He died on the way to the hospital. Cops claim Wright was laughing as he was being loaded into the ambulance.

Witnesses describe shooting

Witnesses in the neighborhood, however, present a different picture from the official police report. After being shot in the stomach, Wright put his hand over the wound, acknowledging that he had been shot. This first shot severed his aorta, which was enough to kill him. Potter shot Wright three more times, including once in the groin. As Wright lay on the ground bleeding from his wounds, one of the cops

walked over to him and kicked him over on his back.

Joseph Willis related what he saw happen right after the shooting, "They didn't even cover him with a blanket. They called another police car, not an ambulance."

Although the cops claim Wright was on drugs, two separate tests found no trace of any drugs in his system. Even if this were not the case, supporters point out that it is unacceptable for cops to execute on the spot people they suspect of drug use.

Outraged that a mother's call for help resulted in her son's death, residents here have held several protests.

Posters with the names of other victims of police violence hung behind the podium at a December 16 rally demanding justice be served in the murder of Edward Wright.

Speaking at this rally, Wright's grandfather, Rev. Willie Murky, told the protesters, "This is not going to go away. When they assassinated my grandson, they assassinated a whole family. My grandson is just as dead as if a Black, Puerto Rican, or Japanese policeman had shot him. I'm not going to focus on the fact that the officer was white. I don't want revenge, I am soliciting justice."

Months after the murder, protests continue and the cops continue their cover-up. "The police are doing the least amount they can," Kisha Wright said. "They are not cooperating with the family, and not paying attention to the witnesses."

Initially, Potter was placed on administrative leave pending an investigation, but both cops are back on the streets of Athens.

District Attorney Harry Gordon issued a 14-page report on January 29 recommending no criminal charges be brought against the cops. The report justifies the murder by saying, "In the circumstances in which he found himself, Officer Potter was legally authorized to use deadly force against Edward Wright."

It also states, "a latitude of judgment is permitted to the police under these circumstances, and questionable or even bad judgment can be rarely subject to criminal penalties."

The next day protesters met District Attorney Gordon outside his office to express their outrage at his report and their determination to continue the fight.

Linking up with other fighters

Supporters have produced a fact sheet and are planning to distribute it at upcoming Black History Month activities. They also hope to link up with others fighting against police brutality, particularly with

the recently formed "Justice for Jerry Jackson Coalition" in Atlanta.

Jerry Jackson, a 23-year-old Black construction worker, was killed by Atlanta cop Wayne Pickney in early December. This case has generated much publicity because Brenda Jackson, Jerry's mother, continues to challenge cop lies, inaction, and the cover-up of her son's murder, including at a December 28 press conference held by Police Chief Beverly Horvath.

After Christmas, as publicity about the shooting was dying down, front-page headlines in the Atlanta papers announced three witnesses who came forward to say they saw Jackson being shot on they sidewalk, execution style, with his arm upraised, apparently begging for his life.

Atlanta mayor Bill Campbell attempted to give the appearance of getting out the facts by announcing the convening of a Citizen Review Board January 5. The board can't begin its investigation until the police department's internal investigation is completed, and has no subpoena power or staff. As of the end of January, the board had yet to meet.

On January 7, the mayor asked the district attorney to convene a grand jury. The grand jury, set to begin on February 7, will consider charges of murder, felony murder, and eight counts of aggravated assault against Atlanta cops Willie Sauls and Wayne Pinckney.

A January 24 press conference announced the formation of the Justice for Jerry Jackson Coalition, whose purpose is to obtain a criminal conviction of the cop that killed Jackson. Coalition leader Lorenzo Komboa Ervin will be the keynote speaker at a February 10 conference in Pittsburgh to demand justice in the murder of Jonny Gammage.

Salm Kolis is a member of United Auto Workers Local 882. Mike Italie is a member of Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees Local 2490.

Correction

A photo in the January 29 issue of the *Militant* described as "Brenda Jackson, speaking at January 5 rally in Atlanta against the cop killing of her son Jerry Jackson" was misidentified.

The photo was actually of Maggie Jones, whose son Jeffery Jones was shot and killed in 1994 by Atlanta police officer Ivant T. Fields. She also spoke at the rally.

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The Young Socialists (YS) invites students and young workers involved in or interested in planning activities to:

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Cuban speaks to workers, students in Iowa

BY NORTON SANDLER

DES MOINES, Iowa — Armando Amieva completed a several day tour of Iowa here on February 6 after speaking to students and trade unionists in four Iowa cities. Amieva is the third secretary of the Cuban government's interests section in Washington, D.C., in charge of economic and scientific matters. His tour was organized by the recently formed Iowa Network on Cuba.

Amieva began his Iowa swing in Sioux City, where he spoke to 45 students at Morningside and Briar Cliff colleges. In Ames he met with activists who have been involved in leading Iowa participation in the Pastors for Peace Friendship caravan. That meeting was also attended by several professors and meatpackers from the Monfort plant in Des Moines.

Amieva had a busy schedule at Drake University in Des Moines. He addressed a public meeting attended by 45 people sponsored by the Philosophy and Religion Department and Drake's Center for Humanities, met with 21 students who will be traveling to Cuba later this year as part of a tour organized by Drake professor Jon Torgerson, and addressed a history class of some 35 students.

In Perry he spoke to a meeting of 15 that included meatpackers from the IBP plant in that city, from the Monfort packing plant in Des Moines, and members of the United Transportation Union who work for the Union Pacific railroad. The Perry event was co-sponsored by the local affiliate of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC).

Amieva also met with the editorial board of the *Des Moines Register* and was interviewed by local television stations in Sioux City and Des Moines and by the all-Iowa radio network.

At every stop Amieva responded to questions from the audience. At Drake he was asked by a trade unionist how growing tourism and incentives being offered to foreign businesses to invest in Cuba were going to affect working people and union members. Amieva said that whether a businessperson can own 49 or 51 percent of an enterprise was not decisive. He said changes in the laws that affect the population as a whole are discussed and debated in workplaces and assemblies across the country before they are enacted and that the rights of Cuban workers are guaranteed. Amieva noted that the Cuban government has fought since the beginning of the revolution to maintain its health care system and protect the young and the elderly.

Affirmative action is main topic at feminist conference

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Some 3,000 women's rights activists attended the "Feminist Expo 1996 for Women's Empowerment" held February 2-4 at the Sheraton Washington Hotel here. At the center of discussion at this event was organizing to defend affirmative action programs. The gathering was organized by the Feminist Majority Foundation and some 299 other cosponsors, including the National Organization for Women (NOW), National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, Coalition of Labor Union Women, the United States Student Association, and the AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department.

A large number of young women from throughout the country participated in the event, as well as some who were active in the fight for women's rights for decades. Participants came from some 46 states and included 74 campus delegations.

NOW President Patricia Ireland urged participants to attend the April 14 March to Fight the Right to be held in San Francisco. This action demands: No retreat on affirmative action; Fight racism; Protect abortion and reproductive rights; Stop all forms of violence against women; Demand lesbian, gay and bi rights; and End the war on poor women.

According to conference organizers, anti-affirmative action ballot initiatives have been proposed in California, Oregon, Florida, Colorado, Washington, and Illi-



Half a million march in Havana August 5 for the Cuban revolution. Armando Amieva said that "Cuba has survived because of the will and power" of its people.

Another man asked if Cuba was moving more toward a policy of sustainable agriculture using less fertilizers and pesticides. Amieva said because of necessity Cuban agricultural workers were trying to experiment with all kinds of farming that required less use of fertilizers and pesticides but that Cuba could not survive in the short term without the use of agricultural chemicals, and that the lack of these was one of the consequences of the U.S. economic embargo.

A young woman who had traveled to Cuba as part of the delegation that attended the "Cuba Lives" festival last August pointed out that some people in Cuba are leaving universities and other profes-

sional jobs to work in the tourist industry where they will have access to dollars. She asked how the government was dealing with this problem, which she said created "almost two economies in one."

"Yes we do have this problem, we don't pretend that we don't" Amieva replied. "This is a consequence of tourism. But this tourism is something we need to do now to bring hard currency to the country. We deal with this through education, and through trying to meet the needs of the population as a whole."

He explained that an effort is under way in Cuba to encourage people to move from the cities to the countryside to help increase agricultural production. "We don't

force anyone to move, we just try to explain why this is necessary, why it is important to the survival of the revolution."

"The U.S. economic blockade of Cuba has cost our country an estimated \$45 billion, \$1 billion alone in 1995," Amieva stated in Perry. "Today in Congress measures are being prepared under the Helms-Burton bill that would tighten this criminal blockade against our country." He urged participants to educate themselves about this legislation and to fight against its passage.

"This policy of the U.S. government has failed," he said. "The revolution still exists, it has not been overthrown, and Cuba is better known in the world today than ever before," Amieva stressed.

Amieva described measures working people have taken to defend the socialist revolution over the last five years since the collapse of Cuba's trade with the Soviet Union and other countries in eastern Europe. "Workers in the factories and in the countryside have taken steps to stimulate production and produce more food. Today, there are more products available in the market and this has helped to boost the morale of the Cuban people," he said. "Cuba has survived because of the will and power of its 11 million people."

Among those attending the Perry meeting were meatpackers born in Mexico, Guatemala, and Sudan. "My connection with Cuba goes beyond friendship," stated John, a young meatpacker from Sudan. "My native tongue is Arabic, but I spent nine years in Cuba studying, and I never had to pay for anything. Today I can speak both English and Spanish. To me Cuba is my own country," he said.

"This was a real education, a school for me," stated Danny, a rail worker in his 40s. "Now I am going to find out how I can get more involved."

Border cops attack caravan to Cuba

BY TONY LANE

MINNEAPOLIS — U.S. Customs arrested 11 people and seized 325 computers when members of a caravan organized by Pastors for Peace attempted to cross the U.S. border into Tijuana, Mexico, on January 31. Seventy drivers and more than 100 supporters participated in the border crossing attempt. The computers were to be donated to an on-line medical information system in Cuba, in a challenge to Washington's embargo of that nation.

Among those originally detained was the executive director of the Interreligious Foundation for Community Organization-Pastors for Peace, Rev. Lucius Walker, who was later released along with three others.

The 30-vehicle caravan was prevented from crossing the border by what Associated Press reports was "a phalanx of San Diego police and U.S. Customs agents." Caravan participants then sought to carry the computers across the border but were tackled by police and had computers wrenched from their arms. Pastors for Peace reports that Customs agents then opened the backs of several trucks and began confiscating computers. Caravan drivers who had formed a ring around the vehicles were dragged away. Several people were injured, including one man who was hospitalized.

According to caravan organizers, along with U.S. Customs, several other federal and state agencies together with local police collaborated in the operation to forestall the project's efforts. Fifty riot cops, 15 squad cars, and 19 tow trucks were gathered at the border.

Caravan leader Walker said, "This is simple humanitarian aid — medicine, medical equipment, and such." He stated,

INS cops arrest 83 workers

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

WASHINGTON, D.C. — Stepping up their harassment of undocumented workers here, federal immigration cops on February 1 arrested 83 immigrants working in dozens of restaurants in adjoining Montgomery County. This was the largest one-day Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) raid in Maryland in over five years.

The day-long operation targeted 37 restaurants, including delicatessens, bagel shops, and McDonald's franchises.

INS agents singled out those who looked "foreign," arresting all those who did not carry a green card or other work authorization papers. They were handcuffed and put on a bus to a National Guard Armory in Silver Spring, Maryland, where they were fingerprinted and pho-

tographed in preparation for being sent to a detention center on Maryland's Eastern Shore.

Ten of those arrested were subsequently released after providing legal papers for residing in the United States.

Clariza Esquivel, 18, who emigrated with her family from El Salvador five years ago, said the INS picked her up about 8:30 a.m. while she was working at McDonald's. She told the INS cops that she was not carrying her papers but they could verify her status by looking at her job application.

"They told me they didn't care about that, that they had to see the card," Esquivel said. "They didn't ask for things nicely. Everything was done rudely. They pushed us and they yelled at us. And they handcuffed us."

"It is inconceivable that our government would want to deny modern medical care to Cuban children and senior citizens." Meanwhile U.S. Attorney Alan Bersin applauded the police and Customs agents for their "restraint but firmness in upholding the law."

In response to the arrests and the seizure of the aid, Pastors for Peace is urging those opposed to the government's actions to call elected officials, including President Bill Clinton, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, and Attorney General Janet Reno. Pastors for Peace is organizing two emergency caravans to cross on February 17. One crossing will take place in San Diego, the other from Vermont into Canada. Both volunteers and material — medical aid including computers — are being sought for this effort.

Since 1992 Pastors for Peace has organized five aid caravans to Cuba, which have crossed the U.S. border both into Mexico and into Canada.

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Curtis must prove Illinois family 'ties'

BY JOHN STUDER

CHICAGO — Authorities at the Illinois Department of Corrections have informed Mark Curtis that they need further proof that he has significant "ties" in Illinois to justify his parole there.

Curtis, who was framed up on charges of attempted rape and burglary in Iowa in 1988, won his parole last November, but he continues to be held in the Iowa State Penitentiary in Fort Madison, Iowa, until Illinois authorities grant him permission to be released into that state. Curtis, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, was framed by the police while he was participating in a public campaign to win freedom for 17 co-workers at the Swift meat-packing plant in Des Moines. The "Swift 17" had been seized in an immigration raid at the plant where Curtis worked.

Curtis has requested to be paroled to Chicago because his wife, Kate Kaku, lives and works there. In addition, Curtis has numerous job offers in Chicago and a network of supporters and political co-thinkers there who have offered their services as he begins to work and function politically again upon his release.

Under Illinois law, the authorities have told both Curtis and his attorney, Jed Stone, that Curtis must have family or marriage ties in the state to be admitted. Curtis has been married to Kaku since 1986, but, since their marriage is "common law" — which is recognized in Iowa — Illinois officials are refusing to accept it. They are asking for more evidence that Curtis and Kaku have a long-standing relationship or are, in fact, married. They informed Curtis and his attorney that when they receive the additional documentation, they will make a ruling on his parole within five days.

Curtis's attorneys and supporters have gathered a substantial quantity of additional evidence of his and Kaku's long-standing relationship. Pay stubs, bank, and joint income tax records demonstrate they have lived together since 1986, kept joint financial records, and filed joint income tax returns. Affidavits from former next door neighbors Julia Terrell and Rose Floyd show they lived together in Des Moines from November 1986, when they moved to Iowa from New York, until September 1988, when Curtis was convicted and imprisoned. Their joint lease in the apartment they lived in on 25th Street in Des Moines has been obtained. Prison records show that Kaku is registered with the prison as Curtis's wife and has visited him dozens and dozens of times.

Curtis's counselor at the Iowa State Penitentiary told him that the prison informed Illinois Corrections officials they will be submitting this material to further Curtis's application for release. His attorney is sending additional materials as well.

According to Curtis's counselor, Illinois authorities say this is the only obstacle to his being granted out-of-state parole.

Curtis's supporters have completed the move of his defense committee to Chicago. On February 8 a rental truck moved the Mark Curtis Defense Committee's files, computer equipment, and other supplies to Chicago.

The committee has a new mailing address: MCDIC, Box 477419, Chicago, IL 60647-7419. The new phone number is: (312) 829-2950.

In Chicago the defense committee will be in the best situation to collaborate with his attorneys and monitor his effort to win release in Illinois. It will also be in the best position to work with Curtis to meet new legal and political challenges to his rights once he is released, gets a job, and begins to get active in politics there.

Requests for information on the status of Curtis's fight and contributions to help out can be sent to the new Chicago address.

For labor coverage
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—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS

The Militant Labor Forum is a weekly free-speech meeting for workers, farmers, youth, and others. All those seeking to advance the fight against injustice and exploitation are welcome to attend and participate in these discussions on issues of importance to working people.

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Malcolm X: His Ideas, Example, and Our Struggle Today. Speakers: Kamal Hassan, Malcolm X Grassroots Movement; Thabo Ntweng, member of International Association of Machinists. Fri., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2546 W. Pico Blvd. (2 blocks west of Vermont). Donation: \$4. Translation into Spanish. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

FLORIDA

Miami

Malcolm X and His Relevance Today. A video will be shown followed by a discussion. Fri., Feb., 16, 7:30 p.m. 137 N.E. 54th St. Translation into Spanish. Donation: \$4. Tel: (305) 756-1020.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

The Fight for Black Rights Today. Fri., Feb.

23, 7:30 p.m. 545 W. Roosevelt. Donation: \$4. Tel: (312) 829-6815.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

The U.S. War Against Iraq: Five Years Later. Speaker: Mark Gilsdorf, Young Socialists. Fri., Feb. 16, 7 p.m.

Malcolm X: Revolutionary Internationalist. Speaker: Doug Douthat, Socialist Workers Party, member of United Auto Workers. Sun., Feb. 25, 4 p.m.

Both events held at 7414 Woodward Ave. (one block north of Grand Blvd./Boulevard). Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

Celebrate the Publication of Episodes of the Cuban Revolutionary War 1956-58 by Ernesto Che Guevara. Speaker: Norton Sandler, Socialist Workers Party National Committee, and a panel of activists.

Fri., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 2490 University Ave. (Bus #16, at Route 280). Donation: \$4. Tel: (612) 644-6325.

NEW JERSEY

Newark

The Fight for Black Rights Today. Fri., Feb.

16, 7:30 p.m. 141 Halsey (corner of Raymond Blvd.). Donation: \$4. Tel: (201) 643-3341.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

Celebrate Victory in Mark Curtis Case- Parole Granted to Framed-Up Political and Union Activist!.

Fri., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. 1103 E. Carson St. Donation: \$4. Tel: (412) 381-9785.

CANADA

Toronto

The fight for Quebec Independence and the Socialist Revolution in Canada.

Speaker: Michel Prairie, editor of *Nouvelle Internationale*, member of the Central Committee of the Communist League. Sun., Feb. 18, 2 p.m.

Program will be followed by a Socialist Publications Fund Victory Celebration which includes a potluck dinner and a panel presentation by participants in the fightback of workers and youth in France against the government austerity measures.

827 Bloor St. West. Donation: \$4. for the forum and \$10 for the fund-raising event. Tel: (416) 533-4324.

N.Y. building workers strike ended

Continued from front page

he said describing the almost daily demonstrations in midtown and around the World Trade Center. "It's a pretty good deal," he said of the contract. "We knew it [the starting wage] was going to go down to something."

The three-year contract starts new hires at \$470 per week — 80 percent of full scale, which is what new employees got until the end of 1995. Management had demanded a 48 percent cut that would bring the starting wage to \$352 per week, down from \$572 per week.

Many workers were not satisfied with the institution of two-tier wages for the first time, even though the concession in the contract is about half what the bosses pushed for.

A maintenance worker at New York University who has been in the SEIU local for eight years went to the union headquarters the morning of February 5. "I came down here to find out what the settlement is," he said. "Whether you sugarcoat it or not, if new hires start at 80 percent, that's two tiers. We lost thousands of dollars out on strike to take a two-tier wage?"

Another worker who has 17 years on

the job chimed in that many union members were willing to stay out longer. "The two-tier strategy was what the strike was about," he said. "We were getting stronger. On Friday [February 2], the building trades unions honored our picket lines."

The settlement was announced in the union headquarters at a press conference attended by New York mayor Rudolph Giuliani; John Sweeney, president of the AFL-CIO; as well as the full negotiating teams from both sides and officials from other unions in the city.

"The union's negotiating committee has the power to make an agreement, just as they had full power to call the strike," stated local 32B-32J president Gus Bevana. There were no local-wide membership meetings or votes during the strike. However, Bevana added, "as has become our tradition, we will be conducting an opinion survey of the membership" to get their response to the contract.

New-hires must work two-and-a-half years before their first wage increase, which will bring them up to full scale. The real estate industry originally demanded the lower tier work for six-years before reaching 100 percent pay.

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A matter of values — A judge in Tallahassee, Florida, awarded custody of an 11-year-old girl to her father because her mother is a lesbian. Earlier, the father did a



Harry
Ring

prison stretch for murdering his first wife.

Catch 22 — Rodolfo Acuña, a veteran Chicano Studies faculty member at Cal State Northridge, was rejected for a teaching post at the University of California, Santa Barbara. He sued on grounds of

age bias and won \$300,000 damages. But a federal judge denied his request for the teaching post, declaring that what with the three and a half years of litigation there would be bad vibes at the university and, therefore, it would be "impractical and inappropriate" for Acuña to teach there.

He'd run too — A New York judge threw out a drug case against a woman who was busted in the Washington Heights area. The cop said he saw four men place some bags in her car trunk. When he stared at them they ran away. The judge said this did not justify arresting the woman. He said Washington Heights residents tend to regard cops as "corrupt, abusive, and violent," and it would be surprising if they

hadn't run.

'A fool and his money...' — It's called the "molecular locator" and, supposedly, detects hidden drugs. (The makers say they don't reveal how it works so the secret won't be stolen.) The FBI warns it's a fraud, but some police agencies have paid \$1,000 for them. Randy Schwegman, an embarrassed Minnesota sheriff, said, he's not convinced it's useless. He observes, "There are some things in this world that don't have a scientific explanation. This could be one of them."

Sometimes — To round out his argument in defense of the "molecular locator," Sheriff Schwegman says, "I don't know how it works, but I don't understand how computers work either, and they

seem to work."

March of technology — New products featured at the American Correctional Assn. confab included a plastic "Slammer Stool" — a portable seat for when two inmates are put in a cell designed for one — and "Stack-a-Bunks" to handle overflow.

Better than two martinis — The *London Observer* reports a growing network of Christian chapters for business folk. It cites a U.S. employer who had to chop 600 jobs: "He was sure it was a correct business decision. But he also knew that he ought to 'look the people in the eye' and tell them they had lost their jobs. He said he would not have done this if he had not been attending local chapter meetings."

They twitch all the way to the bank — Psychologist Craig Dreilinger recommends taking the first early retirement offer the boss makes. Why? "Employers are likely to be more generous with early retirement offers at the beginning of a downsizing because they feel lots of guilt."

Yes — When a woman wrote to Ann Landers about her husband looking for a job for three years, the advice columnist berated the writer for a "negative attitude." Landers said this evoked 6,000 angry letters and cited some. Our favorite: "Dear Marie Antoinette: Millions of people in the United States and Canada are working for peanuts to create millionaires and billionaires. This is the stuff revolutions are made of."

Latest issue of 'La Gaceta' explores Cuban film

BY MARTY ANDERSON

A presentation by Tomás Gutiérrez Alea, Cuba's most prominent film director, is a feature piece in the sixth issue of *La Gaceta de Cuba* in 1995. Published six times a year by the Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba, the magazine *La Gaceta* is a leading forum of discussion and debate on culture and politics.

As part of the worldwide commemoration of 100 years of film, the current issue contains four articles devoted to the role and nature of Cuban cinema since 1959. The article "Another cinema, another world, another society," is a presentation Gutiérrez Alea originally gave to a 1993 conference held in Tacoma, Washington. The director of *Strawberry and Chocolate* and *Guantanamera* discusses the challenge of filmmaking in countries of the Third World.

In Cuba's own case, Gutiérrez Alea explains, soon after the victory of the revolution in 1959 Washington imposed an economic embargo, excluding all trade between the two countries. Like much of the world, the Cuban people's "taste" in film

had been conditioned by Hollywood. All this had to change since Cuba was barred from acquiring everything from aspirins to movies.

Gutiérrez Alea points out that after initial resistance, the popularity of other foreign movies, particularly those from Latin America, began to grow, although U.S. films continue to be shown to this day and remain popular. Even more, the product of the growing Cuban film institute became popular among the Cuban public. Many of these films became highly regarded outside Cuba for their boldness in addressing social issues and revolutionary questions.

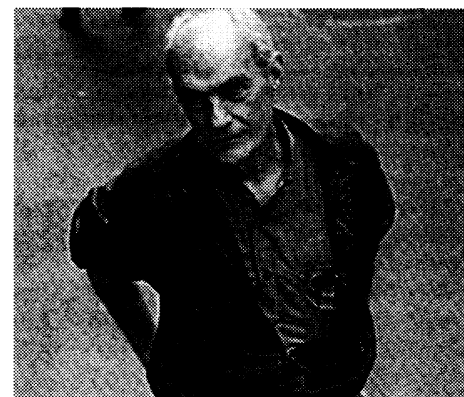
"The Cuban film institute, since its formation, has been a workshop to make films and train filmmakers," Gutiérrez Alea explains.

"What is our message?" he asks. "Is it what our conscience says, or what the market supposedly demands? Will it show, or hide reality? Will it communicate with the public, or try to hypnotize them? Will it stimulate criticism and participation, or instill the idea that 'this is the way things are and can't be changed'?"

Responding to these questions, Gutiérrez Alea comments, "How could one conceive of influential and lasting works of film if they serve to consolidate the status quo, with all its suffering and injustice, and not attack it and transform it?"

Also in this issue are two contributions that continue *La Gaceta's* efforts to publicize the increasing cultural ties between Cubans living abroad and those on the island. This opening helps counter the attempt by Cuban rightists and the U.S. State Department to line up prominent cultural figures against the revolution. In addition, it provides information to Cuban workers and youth on the impact of the Cuban revolution in the world.

One of these items is an interview with Roberto González Echevarría, a professor at Yale University who left Cuba as a youth in 1959 and has written a book on noted Cuban author Alejo Carpentier titled *The Pilgrim at Home*. The other, an article by José M. Fernández Pequeño, discusses Lino Novás Calvo, author of *Pedro Blanco*, *Slave Trader* and other works. Novás Calvo left Cuba in 1960 and re-



Film director Tomás Gutiérrez Alea

mained hostile to the revolution until his death in 1983. The article argues that his work, ignored within Cuba for years, remains an important part of Cuba's cultural heritage.

Subscriptions to the Spanish-language journal are available for \$40 a year and can be obtained through Pathfinder 410 West Street, New York, NY 10014 or at any Pathfinder bookstore listed on page 12.

Women in the Rebel Army

Continued from Page 8

orders not to come down from there.

"I disobeyed this order that night," Oniria recounts, "I wanted to be with them in case the Batista soldiers came, so I went down to the camp. When Che saw me there, he sternly reprimanded me and ordered me to leave. He treated me like he never had before, in spite of my protests. It was his concept of discipline, and it couldn't be any other way. In retrospect, that's how I have come to see it."

The combatant was separated from Che for the rest of the war when he left for the Escambray to lead the "Ciro Redondo" invasion column. This time her pleas were not heard by Commander Che Guevara:

"He scolded me and told me that it was impossible, that I wouldn't be able to withstand that campaign. I protested that

Joel Iglesias, who also was very young and had been injured a short time before, was going. But he did not want me to go with them.

After the triumph of the revolution, I saw him in La Cabaña. We embraced, jubilant about the victory of the revolution. Then he asked me what I was going to do and I replied that I was going to get married. I can't forget his playful response, 'What do you mean get married?! What you have to do is study so that you can do something useful!'

Time has flown by, almost without the reporter or the subject noticing. It has been like immersing oneself in a heroic, unprecedented chapter of history and getting a firsthand look at the commander, flawless and unafraid, who gave his life to the Latin American revolution.

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT

Published in the Interest of the Working People

February 19, 1971

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FEB. 10 — City-wide antiwar actions were slated this afternoon in every major American city and demonstrations were taking place on scores of campuses throughout the country, as public anger at Nixon's invasion of Laos continued to mount. The Student Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam, which called for teach-ins and protests on campuses last week, announced plans for an emergency National Student Antiwar Conference at Catholic University in Washington, D.C., Feb. 19-21, "to plan a full reaction on a national scale to the escalation."

At a Feb. 9 news conference in Washington, SMC National Organization Secretary Deborah Bustin said, "The potential of the student movement to join with antiwar forces in the community has yet to be fully realized. The SMC sees this escalation, coming at the time of the National Student Antiwar Conference, as a historical moment."

Bustin pointed to the massive demonstrations called by the National Peace Action Coalition for April 24 in Washington, D.C., and San Francisco as the focus for the SMC's spring program. She said these demonstrations "will be like the powerful mobilizations in November 1969 except that they will reflect another year's frustration and anger over the continuation of the war."

Bustin said that city-wide antiwar demonstrations were slated in Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C., for Feb. 10. Actions are also scheduled for that date in New York; New

Haven, Conn.; Boston; Cleveland; and other cities.

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

NEW YORK, N.Y. FIVE (5) CENTS

February 16, 1946

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 28 — In defiance of court orders limiting pickets, 3,000 AFL and CIO unionists massed before the scab-operated Bethlehem Alameda shipyard this morning and closed it tight. The action was the most inspiring show of labor solidarity this area has seen since the days of the great strikes in the '30's.

CIO Steelworkers Machinists Local 1304 has been on strike for the past three months. During this period Bethlehem with the aid of court orders and fully equipped riot squads has continued minor operations with scab labor. The situation had become a serious threat to the closed shop conditions won and maintained during the past decade.

The workers were in full agreement with Joe Roberts, business agent of AFL Shipfitters Local 9, when he announced over the union loudspeaker: "Unless this yard is closed 100 per cent there will be a rapid spread of open shops in the Bay area."

The scene fairly bristled with cops. Forty-five Alameda police, backed by 15 members of the riot squad armed with clubs and tear gas, stood ready to carry out the strikebreaking orders of the bosses. Police of seven other cities of Alameda County were prepared to "move in" on the strike scene. Nearby Oakland held 100 fully equipped riot squad thugs in readiness. State highway patrolmen were also "alerted." This was accomplished through the county sheriffs' "mutual aid" organization.

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Say no to capitalists' execution spree

The U.S. rulers have opened the new year with a record month for barbarism. In Delaware, Billy Bailey was hung on January 25 in the nation's third execution by hanging since 1965. The next day, a firing squad murdered John Taylor in Utah, the first execution of that kind since Gary Gilmore's death there in 1977.

Just before these two state-sanctioned murders took place Richard Townes was put to death in Virginia by lethal injection. This was almost a non-story except that death chamber technicians needed 30 minutes to locate a suitable vein to inject the poison.

Taylor, who maintained his innocence in face of his conviction for rape and murder, said he chose the firing squad to make a statement that Utah was sanctioning murder. Taylor spoke the truth.

While touted by various big-business politicians as a crime deterrent, the death penalty has nothing to do with decreasing crime. It is simply a weapon of terror used disproportionately against Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, and aimed at the working class as a whole.

Capital punishment is used to dehumanize and humiliate working people. John Taylor told his lawyers he preferred death to life under prison conditions. A month earlier in Illinois, Guinevere Garcia — who "sought" to be only the second woman executed in the United States since capital punishment was resumed 20 years ago — told her friends she would rather die than spend the rest of her life in prison.

The barbaric rulers of capitalist society have no moral authority to order the execution of any human being. Their cops brutalize and frame up hundreds of working people every day. They continue to maintain sanctions against Iraq which have caused the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqi children.

As the world capitalist crisis continue to deepen, the rulers will resort to rougher measures to intimidate working-class fighters when they go into motion to defend themselves against the bosses assaults. The prison system is filling up with working people faster than ever. The Justice Department reported at the end of 1995 that the nation's prison population was at a high — 1.5 million inmates, up from 1.4 million in 1994.

Activists opposed to the death penalty say a surge in the number of executions is expected in 1996.

That's why supporters of democratic rights, opponents of capital punishment, and all working-class fighters must step up our efforts to oppose the death penalty. We should join in the effort to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, whose fight against a cop frame-up and death sentence has put a spotlight on the injustice of the "justice system" and its death chambers. The working class has more at stake than any other group in fighting this savage practice and demanding that it be abolished.

Don't give NATO Yugoslavia

Continued from Page 5

people bought into the nationalist demagoguery of Milosevic, Tudjman, and company and supported or did not resist the formal break-up of the Yugoslav federation.

But even among the hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs who turned out and applauded the nationalist tirades by Milosevic at rallies in Belgrade and elsewhere, a majority opposed the terror of ethnic cleansing. The Serbian regime often had to blatantly lie to rally working people behind its military offensives. When the

DISCUSSION WITH OUR READERS

Yugoslav army, for example, was called out of the barracks to halt the independence of Slovenia, troops were told by officers that Yugoslavia was being assaulted by Austria and Italy. As soon as most soldiers discovered the truth, fraternization of the troops of different nationalities took place and a bloodletting was averted in that republic.

The Yugoslav working class has been pushed back but has not lost the battle. The important fact is the widespread resistance to the course of Milosevic and his rival bureaucrats described earlier. The dictatorship of the proletariat may not be well but is still alive throughout Yugoslavia.

Hitler triumphed in Germany in the 1930s and established a fascist regime after the working class in that country had been dealt a crushing defeat. The Nazis won popular support for their openly stated aims of exterminating the Jews and other non-Aryans based on the smashing of the labor movement.

In Yugoslavia, neither Tito nor his heirs have been able to crush the working class to the point of returning the country to the prison house of nations it was prior to the 1945 revolution.

If the working class in Yugoslavia had been smashed and the workers state there torn to pieces already, imperialism would not need to be sending in its armies, using the opening provided by the war that the Serb and Croat regimes initiated. Such a blow would also be registered by a qualitative shift in the relationship of forces in favor of imperialism worldwide — from Cuba to China to capitalist Europe.

As is the case in Yugoslavia, the toilers throughout the workers states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union keep surprising the imperialists by their resistance to attempts to integrate those countries in the world capitalist market. The recent miners' strikes in Russia and Ukraine are one such example. (In a similar way workers from Seattle to Peoria, Illinois, keep surprising the capitalist employers and their government by fighting and continuing to prove that even a declining and bureaucratized union is not the same as no union whatsoever.)

A union of soviet republics

"If 'the Yugoslav workers state has not been dismembered into little pieces,' how is it that at least five separate states exist, each with its own government, constitutions, army, and international relations," asks Craine.

The formal break-up of the Yugoslav federation is not synonymous with the splintering of the workers state into five pieces being picked up one at a time into the fold of the imperialist system. (By the way, that's what Stalinist groups such as the Workers World Party and the Communist Party USA argue: that Serbia and Montenegro remain the only socialist republics and the rest such as Croatia and Slovenia are already ruled by capitalist regimes.)

What the Yugoslav revolution put in place was not a state akin the bourgeois democracies in western Europe, albeit with nationalized property forms. It was a union of soviet republics — a social dictatorship of the majority, the producers — kept together through the class unity of Yugoslav workers and farmers, conquered on the basis of a common struggle against capitalist exploitation and all forms of national oppression.

It is these social relations, along with the property forms put together by the revolution, that have not been destroyed. That's why it's not useful to use Craine's yardstick.

In addition, the internal borders of each of the Yugoslav republics are very porous with constant move-

ments of populations largely caused by the war. You can also hardly argue that Macedonia, for example, has its own full-fledged army with a few rusty tanks and minimal weaponry. Not to mention the situation in Bosnia, where borders and controlling armies are fluid, changing month by month. The economic infrastructures of the different republics are still totally interlinked, with power plants and other factories producing for neighboring or distant republics, for example. And the invading imperialist powers are nowhere close to establishing capitalism in any piece of Yugoslavia.

Several articles in the big-business press make similar observations from the capitalists' point of view.

"Just over a month after the suspension of United Nations sanctions imposed for its role in the Bosnian war, Serbia is fast retreating into the closed economy of its Communist past," complained an article in the February 6 *Wall Street Journal*.

"This is bad news not just for potential investors, but also for the U.S.-led effort to bring peace and economic stability to neighboring Bosnia. Prying open this key Balkan nation," the *Journal* article continued, "is viewed by many experts as crucial to the success of the Bosnian peace process, since so many of the region's industries are intertwined. A closed Serbian economy also could hurt countries such as Greece, Turkey and Bulgaria, which desperately want to reopen roads and trade links through Serbia to northern Europe."

Task of reestablishing capitalism 'overwhelming'

As for Bosnia, the task of pouring in massive investments and establishing a market economy seemed daunting to the *Journal*.

In an accompanying article in the same issue reporter Mark Nelson said "the task at times seems overwhelming." He was referring to efforts by foreign engineering and other firms to capture contracts for power plant repairs and other construction projects, each of which have received pledges from imperialist institutions adding up to a few billion dollars.

"After World War II," Nelson continued, "it took the Western allies more than three years to do in Germany all the things that the Dayton Accord aims to do during the next six months: organize elections, create a democratic, free-market society, and start rebuilding a functioning economy. And the allies enjoyed some advantages in Germany: That country was completely occupied and already had a tradition of efficient companies and bureaucracies.

"Here the economic inheritance from old Yugoslavia offers little comfort."

Indeed, the capitalist powers and their mouthpieces are not in for a comfortable ride to capitalism in Yugoslavia. They do not occupy the entire country — at least not yet — and even in the portions they do control they have to confront militarily the inheritance of the Yugoslav revolution: a working class that will resist any shock therapy measures and any attempts to return to capitalist social relations.

Despite the efforts of Milosevic, Tudjman, and other bureaucrats, the social and economic foundations of the Yugoslav workers state have not been torn apart.

No stable capitalist ruling class exists with the accompanying system of bourgeois values; stable legal and contractual relations; and the dominance of privately owned industrial, banking, financial, and commercial capital. The fight is not settled over any of these questions. That's why Yugoslavia is not yet former.

This is what NATO's war drive is all about: putting the imperialist powers in place to smash the working class there directly through military violence in order to reestablish capitalism. Youth and working people in North America and throughout the world can make this task of the competing imperialist sharks even more monumental.

We can do so by telling the truth about NATO's war drive, explaining the Yugoslav revolution and its accomplishments, and joining other fighters in all defensive struggles and asking them to add to their demands getting the U.S. and other imperialist troops out of Yugoslavia now.

Above all, winning fighters today to a communist party capable of leading workers and farmers to take state power and defend it arms in hand is the biggest aid we can give to working people in Yugoslavia.

Giving to the capitalist exploiters what they haven't already taken from our class would hurt our embattled brothers and sisters in the Balkans.

Oil workers strike against union busting

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace, or

planned to downsize the current workforce of over 500 by up to 130 salaried and hourly workers, and would maintain workers based on work-related performance criteria without regard to seniority. This attack on seniority has been met with outrage by the union employees.

From the beginning Tosco has threatened to shut down the refinery unless the union accepted its demands. In early January BP be-

Electrical workers, Service Employees International Union, and the Teachers Association.

"We decided to come down and support them because the same thing is happening to us," stated Michael Billups, an International Longshoreman Local 1291 member from Philadelphia.

"There's about 40 of us here from United Auto Workers Local 1069 at Boeing. We just got our contract and thought it was important to be here," explained a machinist from the Ridley Park, Boeing plant.

Teamsters from the Pennsylvania Conference brought their semi truck and blasted music from loud speakers. "I work a full-time job and got off this morning from midnight shift," explained the driver. "I take this truck everywhere. I've been to Detroit and the newspaper strike bringing them potatoes from Maine. We collected food for the miners when they were on strike and I drove there many times. I think it's important that we stand together, solidarity is all we've got."

Maori meatpackers end protest, plant reopens

BENNEYDALE, New Zealand — Members of the Tiroa Trust of



Militant/Terry Coggan
Maoris occupying processing plant in New Zealand, December 1995. The sign reads 'The lands of Rereahu' — the tribe that owns the land the plant is built on.

the Rereahu tribe ended their protest against the closure of the King Country Lamb meat processing plant here January 16 after the plant was bought by a private syndicate. Up to 50 Maoris, many of them workers at the plant, had occupied the plant carpark for three weeks. The trust owns the land leased by the plant.

The plant reopened January 24 with around 30 workers reemployed to date, according to former union delegate Tui Barlow. Neither of the two previous union delegates have been rehired in the now nonunion plant.

The new owners have brought in job combinations, a new skill-based pay system for laborers and butchers, and plan to institute

piece rates.

The plant is running with about 120 fewer workers than at its peak four months ago, according to the January 27 *Waikato Times*, with a number of workers obtaining jobs at another nearby nonunion beef plant, which plans to expand.

The company has agreed to reduce effluent released into oxidation ponds located on sacred land, which the protesters asked be relocated.

Kathy Mickells, a member of OCAW Local 8-901 at Sun Oil in Marcus Hook, Pennsylvania, and Felicity Coggan, a member of the Meat Workers Union in Auckland, New Zealand, contributed to this week's column.

ON THE PICKET LINE

other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

MARCUS HOOK, Pennsylvania — With shouts of "Union! Union! Union!" over 250 oil workers, friends, family and other unionists rallied outside the main gate of British Petroleum's (BP) Marcus Hook refinery on January 31, just hours before workers were escorted out of the refinery and picket lines set up. A cheer went up when union workers still in the plant raised a six-foot flag of a skull and crossbones from the top of one of the refinery's towers. The oil workers — members of Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers (OCAW) Local 8-234, were protesting the sale of the refinery to Tosco Corp. and its union busting demands.

On Nov. 3, 1995, BP announced the sale of the Marcus Hook refinery along with terminals, pipelines, and northeast retail outlets to Tosco, one of the largest independent refining companies in the U.S. Tosco said it

gan to shut down units of the refinery in preparation to turn it over.

Members of Local 8-234 have organized numerous plant-gate informational leaflet distributions, two other rallies, and meetings with other union locals. They attended local town council meetings to explain their situation. They also met with local politicians seeking their support in trying to force Tosco's CEO Thomas O'Malley to the bargaining table. But O'Malley has refused to bargain with the local union and dismissed all attempts to meet with the politicians.

Tosco blames the refinery closing on the workers' intransigence in their demands. The union membership voted down Tosco's proposals by 82 percent.

The Marcus Hook refinery is situated in a heavily industrialized and unionized area along the Delaware River. Unionists from many of the surrounding plants and schools attended the rally, including members of the United Steelworkers of America, United

LETTERS

'Yugoslav workers state'?

I would like to see a continuation of the "Discussion with Our Readers" begun in the January 22 issue. I think Argiris Malapanis's response to reader Jeff Jones raised as many new questions as it answered.

Malapanis writes of "countless examples of active opposition to the slaughter" on the part of the Yugoslav working class. Since these are not covered in the bourgeois press, it would help if the *Militant* could describe some of the specific instances he is referring to.

If "the Yugoslav workers state has not been dismembered into little pieces," how is it that at least five separate states exist, each with its own government, constitutions, army, and international relations, with many of them at war with each other? It seems to me, and I imagine most people, that Yugoslavia is about as dismembered as any state in the world today. If you want to say the workers have a shot at putting it back together, that's one thing, and a very important issue to address, but a statement like this lacks credibility.

The underlying question, I suppose, is: Where is the Yugoslav working class at in the objectively necessary but as yet not very well understood task of defending the gains of their revolution?

Malapanis states that "while the bureaucratic caste itself shattered into competing gangs, the working class did not." If this refers to cross-ethnic unity of the class, I think anyone would have to say — at least — that a great deal has been lost.

In a sense, it seems to me, the bureaucracy has been changed the least. The bureaucracy has always consisted of little rival gangs

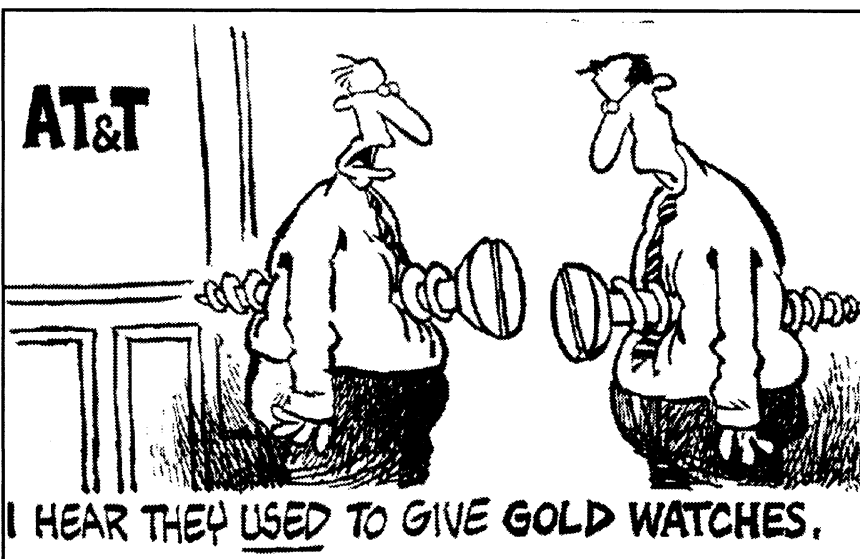
looking out for no one but themselves and their careers. It's just that now their power-and money-grabbing is taking a more violent form.

But the working class *had* gained something important in the revolution of the 1940s (which the *Militant* has done a good job of keeping part of the picture). The working class *did* have something to lose. I've seen far more evidence than not that this Yugoslav workers' unity has been lost or is well on the way to being buried for a long time. We all wish this were not true, but simply stating that it isn't doesn't change the reality.

Many Yugoslav workers (perhaps "millions") may still consider themselves Yugoslavs as opposed to Serbs, Croats, etc., but many are also fighting on the side of one or another of these gangs. In fact, from what I've read, any opposition to this is extremely small and ineffective.

Far more, seemingly the majority of the civilian population, despite their fond memories of interethnic harmony, have become convinced that they will suffer atrocities at the hands of some other group. The mass exodus of Serbs from areas surrounding Sarajevo (taking with them even the exhumed bodies of deceased family members) is a recent dramatic example of the inroads made by the warring gangs' propaganda (reinforced by the reality all too many Yugoslavs have seen first hand).

Interestingly, Malapanis points out that "the Stalinists in power [in Tito's time] did not and could not" use the history of ethnic conflict to whip up support for their positions as did monarchist Chet-



niks and the Ustashi fascists before the revolution.

But isn't this exactly what's being done — with significant success — by today's Stalinist bureaucrats in each of the "gangs"? Now they have come out in openly and violently competing gangs, playing the "ethnic card" with a vengeance since it has become virtually their only *raison d'être*. But aren't they the same social layer (capitalist-minded bureaucrats) with the same political lineage (Stalinism)? What has changed to make this possible?

Steve Craine
Westover, West Virginia

Facts on jobless rate

In the lead story [in the February 5 *Militant*] on Clinton's State of the Union speech and Dole's response, mention is made of current unemployment levels in the U.S. The writer of the article mentions that these figures "only count those people who are currently receiving unemployment

checks." This is not correct.

Raw figures for unemployment statistics are not derived from simply adding up the number of UC [unemployment compensation] checks mailed out in a given week. I called the Minneapolis Public Library and they referred to the Dept. of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics "Employment and Earnings Report" for November 1995.

This publication explains how the unemployment figure for a given month is arrived at. It is done by an interview process of a so-called representative number of households.

A person is counted as unemployed if they are on layoff and receiving a UC check; if they are on layoff and anticipating being recalled (whether or not their benefits have been exhausted); or if a person not receiving a UC check claims to have made an attempt to find work at least once in the last four weeks.

Discouraged workers who have not looked for work in the last four weeks, students, housepar-

ents, part-time workers seeking full-time work, low wage workers seeking better jobs; none of these people is counted as unemployed.

Michael Pennock
Minneapolis, Minnesota

Federal workers' protests

The January 22 *Militant* reported that protests by federal workers had forced the U.S. government to end its partial shutdown.

If indeed these working-class protests forced Clinton, Gingrich, and Dole to back down, labor scored a significant victory that should be told on the mountain. But I have seen little news coverage, including in the *Militant*, of actual protest actions. When and where did they take place? How big were they? How were they organized? What did the protesters say?

The events can be read differently. The government workers' protests, important as they were, appeared to me neither large, widespread, nor powerful enough to do more than hasten the inevitable. Perhaps the reversal in government policy they "forced" was not so sharp after all; how many U.S. politicians, Democrat or Republican, intended to permanently close large sections of the U.S. government in December?

Steve Marshall
Detroit, Michigan

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Ottawa pushes anti-Quebec campaign

BY BEVERLY BERNARDO

VANCOUVER, British Columbia — Taking the lead from the federal government in Ottawa, several groups across Canada have begun to organize a campaign to deny the oppressed Quebecois nation its right to self-determination.

On January 29, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien raised the threat of partitioning Quebec should the majority vote for independence in the future. Two days later, the *Vancouver Sun* ran an editorial headlined "Carving Quebec." The subhead aptly summed up the thrust of this piece. "If French-speaking Quebecers can claim self-determination, so can others," it read.

Opponents of Quebec's right to separate from Canada have also begun to organize public meetings as part of their efforts to build a mass campaign to deny the Quebecois their right to independence. On February 2, more than 600 people, including a small number of young people, attended a meeting here in Vancouver sponsored by B.C. Citizens for Canadian Unity and Citizens Concerned About Free Trade (CCAFT). According to the meeting's chairperson, Connie Fogal, about 7,000 posters advertising the meeting on the topic "Canada After the Referendum — What Now?" were put up all over the lower mainland.

B.C. Citizens for Canadian Unity is a new group that handed out a "preliminary policy statement" to those in attendance. "The near victory of the separatists in last October's Quebec referendum gave all Canadians a wake-up call. We came within several thousand votes of losing our country, a country that is the envy of millions around the world." The statement does not recognize Quebec as a nation; rather it says the people of Quebec "are very much wanted and needed" as part of the Canadian nation. The next meeting of the group will be held at the home of Harry Rankin, a former Vancouver alderman and a lawyer known for defending civil liberties.

David Orchard and Guy Bertrand were the two speakers at the event. Both were active in campaigning for a "no" vote during last year's referendum on Quebec sovereignty. Orchard is a Saskatchewan farmer, the national chairman of the CCAFT, and author of the widely-read book *The Fight for Canada: Four Centuries of Resistance to American Expansionism*.

During the referendum last year Orchard was in Montreal speaking and writing about what he described as "the danger to both Quebec and the rest of Canada from the separatist movement."

Bertrand is a Quebec lawyer who won a court injunction to block the 1995 referendum, but the judge then said he had no power to enforce his decision. Bertrand, a founding member of the Parti Quebecois, has founded a new organization called Citizens for a Democratic Nation to campaign against Quebec's right to independence.

Canadian nationalist rhetoric

Figures like Orchard and Bertrand try to convince working people that they have a stake in defending the Canadian state against its imperialist competitors. Independence for Quebec would be a blow to Canadian imperialism.

Orchard argues that the real threat to all of Canada, including Quebec, is being absorbed by the United States through the provisions of the 1988 Free Trade Agreement and the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Orchard rejects the idea that Quebec is an oppressed nation within Canada that has the right to self-determination. In fact, in answer to a question during the discussion period, Orchard gave credence to the notion that the "Americans" created the Quebec nationalist movement to weaken Canada.

Orchard opposed giving any more powers to the provincial governments "in a vain attempt to appease Quebec," because it would "Balkanize" Canada by weakening the federal government. The CCAFT

leader urged all those present to read *Federalism and the French Canadian* by former Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, who sent the Canadian army into Quebec in

percent majority within Quebec.

Bertrand also maintained that any referendum on secession in Quebec must have a "double majority." He said that in order



Rally supporting Quebec sovereignty last fall. Ottawa is attacking right of Quebecois to self-determination. Inset, socialists win hearing for Quebec independence.

1970 in an attempt to crush the rising Quebecois nationalist movement. Trudeau recently wrote an article published in major daily newspapers accusing Quebec premier Lucien Bouchard of betraying Quebec by allegedly misleading people during the campaign around the October 1995 referendum.

In his speech, Bertrand said that by not challenging the legality of the referendum, federalist forces had set a precedent for accepting the results of a future vote. He called for a referendum to be held across Canada before the end of the year on the question: "Do you want to remain a Canadian citizen?" Bertrand predicted that such a question would win a yes vote by a 65

to separate there should be a vote of 70 percent or more in Quebec as a whole plus a vote of 50 percent plus one in each region in order for it to separate — raising the specter of Quebec's partition. Bertrand's final appeal for Canadian unity received loud applause.

Socialist views get a hearing

In their overwhelming majority those attending the meeting supported Canadian unity and opposed Quebec's right to self-determination. But members of the Communist League and Young Socialists who have gone on a campaign-footing to counter Ottawa's reactionary campaign against Quebec found a hearing for their

views. Despite some loud boos and hisses when communists explained they were champions of Quebec's independence, they were able to participate in the discussion. Young Socialists member Jason Phelps stated that "The Canadian government's use of the War Measures Act against Quebec and the recent role of the army in Somalia show the real nature of Canada as an imperialist country."

A literature table set up outside the meeting featured a sign reading, "Canada-NATO Troops Out of Yugoslavia, Defend Cuba's Socialist Revolution, and Support Independence for Quebec." Communists were able to sell 16 issues of the *Militant* from the table. "We heard you were for Quebec's independence," said several people who came by to talk.

In explaining the stakes for working people in the chauvinist campaign against Quebec, communists pointed to two issues of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist* that contain "Land, Labor and the Canadian Revolution" by Michel Dugré and "Imperialism's March toward Fascism and War" by Jack Barnes. These articles are particularly useful in providing a working-class explanation of what's behind the Canadian rulers' chauvinist offensive, the place of right-wing mobilizations for the partition of Quebec, and the role of Canadian imperialism today.

At a conference featuring a Cuban professor in Montreal, several people came to the Communist League table specifically to pick up a French translation of a *Militant* editorial supporting Quebec independence. Michel Prairie, a leader of the Communist League, participated in the discussion, comparing the struggle of the Cuban people for sovereignty, dignity, and in defense of socialism with that of the Quebecois. "Fighters for Quebec independence have a lot to learn from the Cuban revolution," Prairie said.

Ned Dmytryshyn in Vancouver and Brigitte Groulx in Montreal contributed to this article.

Canada generals quit as abuse exposed

BY GEORGE ROSE

TORONTO — The top command of the Canadian military has been thrown into disarray by the unraveling of their attempt to cover up killings, torture, and racist abuse of Somali civilians by Canadian troops.

Two generals abruptly retired in late January after they were named by a military police officer as having hampered his investigation into high-level complicity in the shootings of unarmed Somalis. The Canadian Airborne Regiment was in Somalia from 1992 to 1993 as part of the United Nations "humanitarian" mission.

Major Vincent Buonamici was the lead investigator into shootings of Somali civilians by Canadian troops on March 4, 1993. He accused the generals of interference that was "extraordinary, reckless, and the most blatant impropriety that I have encountered."

Later in March 1993 Canadian soldiers tortured and killed Shidane Arone, a Somali teenager. As the facts about the brutal murder of Arone came to light, several soldiers were court-martialed, the Airborne Regiment was eventually disbanded, and a public inquiry was launched, which is now holding hearings.

In an affidavit asking for full standing before the inquiry, Buonamici said that senior officers improperly interfered with his attempt to investigate the role of the Airborne Regiment's commander, Lieut.-Col. Carol Mathieu. (Mathieu was found not guilty in 1994 of negligent performance of duty, but last November the Court Martial Appeal Court overturned his acquittal and ordered him to stand trial again.)

Buonamici further stated that senior officers snoop through his files, seized documents and computer files he had as-

sembled for the inquiry, falsified a search warrant after the fact to justify their seizure, threatened him, and derailed his career because he persisted with his investigation.

High level cover-up

Buonamici's allegations point to a cover-up that extended to the highest levels not only of the Conservative Party government that was in office during the Somalia invasion but of the current Liberal Party government as well.

Defence Minister David Collenette immediately rejected Buonamici's charges. Collenette claimed the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) had already "conducted a full investigation into these matters" and cleared the military brass of wrongdoing. But to the government's embarrassment, RCMP officials denied they had carried out such a "full" investigation; rather, they had looked into only a small portion of Buonamici's allegations. The spectacle continued for several days of contradictory statements being issued by the RCMP, the military, and the defense minister.

Meanwhile, military officers appearing before the Somalia inquiry are trading recriminations about who should take the blame for "discipline problems" among Canadian troops. Commentators have noted that officers are making accusations against their superiors that would normally be punished as insubordination.

Last December, the inquiry heard Bud Jardine, former chief warrant officer of the Airborne Regiment, complain about the double standard of military justice. "I watched the commanders sit in this chair and blame the soldiers for their very own shortcomings," Jardine said. He noted that two enlisted men got prison terms for

Arone's murder, while officers were acquitted or given reprimands at most.

Earlier, the inquiry also heard charges that soldiers at the Airborne Regiment's base in Petawawa, Ontario, held a dinner in 1991 to celebrate the 1989 massacre of 14 women by misogynist gunman Marc Lepine at a Montreal technical college.

Abuse by Bosnia 'peacekeepers'

The reputation of Canadian "peacekeepers" took another hit when *Esprit de Corps* magazine published charges that Canadian troops in Bosnia beat patients in a mental hospital they had "liberated," had sex with nurses there, and engaged in wild, drunken parties.

The defense department's director of security, Col. Peter MacLaren, replied, "Some of it did happen. Sex with the nurses — what else is new?" He also defended what he called "manhandling" of patients, saying that hospitals in Yugoslavia can't be compared to those in Canada.

The daily headlines with words such as "misconduct," "debacle," and "white-wash" could hardly come at a worse time for Canada's rulers. As one of the militarily weakest imperialist powers, they are trying to maintain a small piece of the action in the current NATO operation in Yugoslavia, with only about 1,000 troops out of the planned 60,000 in the U.S.-dominated force.

In fact, at the same time that two generals implicated in the Somalia cover-up took their early retirement, another Canadian general — currently the deputy commander of UN forces in Yugoslavia — also announced his resignation. Maj.-Gen. Barry Ashton hinted from Zagreb, Croatia, that declining morale in the military played a role in his departure.